

THE NATION

AND ATHENÆUM



VOL. XLVII.

SATURDAY, APRIL 26, 1930.

No. 4

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THE NATION is edited and published weekly at 38, Great James Street, London, W.C.1.

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Annual Subscription, Thirty Shillings, including postage to any part of the world. MSS. should be addressed to the Editor, and accompanied by stamped and addressed envelope for return. Entered as Second Class Matter, March 15th, 1929, at the Post Office at Boston, Mass., under the Act of March 3rd, 1879 (Sec. 397, P. L. and R.).

EVENTS OF THE WEEK

A RESOLUTE optimism was the prevailing note of the speeches at the final session of the Naval Conference on Tuesday when the Treaty was signed. This note was first struck by Mr. MacDonald, whose vigorous and well-phrased speech was perhaps the best of the long series, and it was repeated with variations by all who followed him. No one expects much realism on these ceremonial occasions, and great knowledge of what has been happening and an unwearied acuteness were needed in the auditors if they were to succeed in distinguishing the few significant points in the mass of sentimental rhetoric. The final ceremony was much less impressive than the State opening in the House of Lords three months ago, but it was also much more intimate and sympathetic in its atmosphere. After all, it is not for nothing that statesmen of such diverse origins and views have learnt to know and respect one another in the day by day struggles over political and technical difficulties, and it may be that the best hope for future progress towards real disarmament may lie less in the document to which the signatures were appended than in the friendships formed in a great cause. The London Naval Conference of 1930 is not dissolved—it stands adjourned to 1935.

The terms of the Treaty are analyzed, and its significance is discussed, on other pages of this issue. After making all due allowance for the requirements of diplomatic decency, the impression remains that the leading delegates are both genuinely pleased with what has been achieved, and genuinely determined to press forward with the work that remains to be done. The

most significant utterance came, appropriately enough, from M. Briand. After referring to the Three-Power Agreement between the British Empire, the United States, and Japan, as a "precious contribution to the general maintenance of peace," which France and Italy would have "a very keen desire" to extend, he went on to say: "In the meantime, the French Government will show all possible good will in order to facilitate the putting into force of this agreement." We may surely conclude that Mr. MacDonald's conversations with the heads of the French delegation have given him good reasons for his optimism as to the "safeguarding" clause in the Agreement.

* * *

Two other points in M. Briand's speech were notable: his declaration that the Treaty provided the necessary machinery, "if manipulated with the necessary elasticity," for a general naval Convention; and his insistence that the "mutual guarantee" of security for which France had pleaded, was something quite different in character from all "former military alliances or groups of alliances which had actually led to an increase of armaments." Admiral Sirianni, for Italy, made a speech of a more general character, chiefly notable for its insistence on the growing strength of the demand for disarmament by the public opinion of the world. Nothing, unfortunately, was said either by him or by M. Briand to suggest that the vexed question of Franco-Italian parity is any nearer solution; but it is, at least, a good sign that the comments of the French newspapers on the Treaty are marked by a complete absence of recrimination, and by an unusually tem-

perate tone, even in their repudiation of the Italian claim.

* * *

From Washington comes the welcome news that President Hoover intends to submit the Treaty to the Senate, for approval, without any delay. The Three-Power Agreement seems to have the approval of the Navy Department, and although the Big Navy Group in Congress are not likely to miss the opportunity of a little publicity, there is confident expectation that ratification will not be long delayed. In Japan, where the vernacular Press has been criticizing with great bitterness the Admiralty's retreat from a rigid insistence on the 70 per cent. ratio, the Treaty may have a mixed reception, but the Government are not likely to be unduly affected by this criticism. The Japanese delegation deserve all possible credit for their fine co-operation, in face of the extreme Japanese anxiety with regard to security—an anxiety which was clearly reflected in Mr. Wakatsuki's final speech, and which it should be the task of British and American statesmanship to allay before the next Conference meets in 1935. It is unfortunate, in this connection, that the Treaty should have been made the occasion of a bitter attack, in the *MELBOURNE ARGUS*, on the British Government's attitude towards the Singapore base.

* * *

The Reichsrat has suddenly, and rather unexpectedly, insisted that a sum of 2,900,000 marks shall be spent on beginning a second "pocket battleship," of the "Ersatz Preussen" type, during the current year. The Government accepted this amendment to their estimates practically without protest. They will probably be severely criticized by the parties of the Left when the estimates are discussed in the Reichstag; but general public opinion in Germany seems not averse to the project of completing the full programme of five of these admirably designed vessels. The consequences may be far-reaching. The Defence Minister admitted that these ships are designed to dominate the Baltic. The French Staff have interpreted this as an avowed design to stop reinforcements from reaching Poland by sea, and there are signs that they may demand the construction of similar, but somewhat larger and more powerful ships, in reply. Unfortunately, the type is a specially formidable one for certain offensive purposes, and the effect of a Franco-German competition might be felt in the naval programmes of other Powers.

* * *

Comparatively little attention has been paid by the British Press to two trials of German minority subjects by Polish courts on charges of a treasonable character. At Kattowitz and Bromberg a flood of evidence has been brought forward showing that the German minorities in these parts of Poland live in a state which, if not one of political terrorism, is far from the state of liberty envisaged by the framers of the minorities clauses of the peace treaties. Herr Ulitz, the Secretary of the Deutsche Volksbund, has been acquitted of the fantastic charge of aiding desertion from the Polish army. The fairness with which the presiding judge conducted the trial and the honesty of the verdict merit recognition in a country where the judiciary is not independent of the executive. But the evidence of systematic and wholesale espionage on the German cultural organization and its leader provided by the witnesses for the prosecution gives a very ugly impression of Polish administrative methods. In Bromberg, where ten German minority leaders were tried on seven-year-old charges of treason and military espionage, the court's verdict has gone differently, although the charges broke down. In what looks sus-

piciously like an attempt to show some sort of justification for the suppression of the local German cultural association there and the prosecution against its leaders, the ten Polish-Germans have been found guilty on minor charges and sentenced to relatively light terms of imprisonment. In the long run the minorities—there are thirty millions of them altogether—will have to be treated fairly, or an explosion of irredentism may one day break out.

* * *

The disorders in India have become more serious. On April 16th there was a fierce riot in Calcutta. Simultaneously, or nearly so, there was rioting in Karachi. As Karachi is within what may be called the Gandhi zone, the disorders there were of a dangerous character, but the police were able to suppress them without calling in troops. The gravest outbreak occurred on Easter Sunday, when a large party of armed men raided the police armoury at Chittagong, and after gutting it, fled into the forests to the east of the town. Troops were called out to surround the insurgents, and the Viceroy issued a proclamation extending the period of operation of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, which gives the Government emergency powers. Arrests of Indian leaders continue. Mr. Sampurnand, formerly a member of the United Provinces Legislative Council, has been sentenced to eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment, and Davi Das Gandhi, the Mahatma's son, to three.

* * *

Wherever the Mahatma's personal influence prevails, the movement seems to be productive of more "gestures" than violence, and the situation does not appear, so far, to call for exceptional methods of repression. If it improves, some of the severest sentences might prudently be revised; for so long as eminent Indian leaders lie in prison, they will be regarded as martyrs, and so long as they are regarded as martyrs, they will be recruiting-sergeants for every organization subversive of public order. None the less, the Government are fully justified in their precautions, for it is by no means clear that the curve of disorder has yet reached its highest point. The Chittagong raid, which was evidently planned by a powerful and wealthy organization, may be only the first symptom of graver trouble. And although Mr. Gandhi continues to accompany his vitriolic abuse of the Government with dissuasions from violence, the authorities cannot imitate his own serene indifference to the probable effect of his diatribes on the ignorant and excitable crowds to whom they are chiefly addressed.

* * *

The negotiations for an Anglo-Egyptian Treaty have not gone forward quite so smoothly as was at first anticipated. The Egyptian delegates began by putting forward claims which would have been destructive of the draft proposals under discussion. They contended that the Suez Canal garrison should occupy only the Asiatic side of the Canal; they advanced a proposal for administrative equality between Egypt and Great Britain in the Sudan; they demanded that Great Britain should resign her privileges under the Capitulations regardless of whether other Powers did so or not. It would appear that they have now given way on the first of these points, and it is probable that the others will not be pressed to the point of breaking down the negotiations. Nahas Pasha has evidently been negotiating for the reputation of the Wafd, as well as for the benefit of Egypt, and has felt obliged to play the risky game of making impossibly high demands, in the hope of securing concessions which could be claimed as a diplomatic success. There is no reason to suppose

that he is willing to force a definite breakdown, but so long as he follows his present line, the negotiations will be subject to unpleasant and even dangerous crises.

* * *

The I.L.P. Conference at Birmingham this week has been an excited and incoherent affair. The one thing that clearly emerges is that the Left Wing are not pleased with the Government. Mr. Snowden was violently attacked for his guarded statement that a further increase in taxation should not be necessary next year; and one speaker declared that in ten months Mr. Thomas had done more for British Capitalism than the Tory Government did in five years. "In ten months," he declared, "he has enthroned in a position of almost unchallengeable power the whole financial autocracy and the whole banking service of this country, and we have complete control of the direction of economic development placed for all time in the hands of private financial interests." The chief interest of the proceedings lies, of course, in the indication which they give of a coming split in the Labour Party. When these things are being said by the Government's "supporters," while the most brilliant defence of Mr. Snowden's Budget is made in the House of Commons by Mr. Lloyd George, interesting developments seem probable.

* * *

The Conference of the National Union of Teachers held at Bournemouth this week has been marked by vigorous protests against the delay in raising the school age. The President, Mrs. Leah Manning of Cambridge, roundly declared that Government delay and vacillation were undermining the energy and resolution of the local education authorities in their great task. Some, at least, would not have the courage to embark upon schemes involving the expenditure of large sums of public money until the issue was placed beyond all doubt. Mr. Hill, in moving a strongly worded resolution of protest, which was unanimously adopted, said that after marching for nine months to the Promised Land, they looked round and discovered that Moses was not marching with them. Local education authorities were in confusion, things were being held up and referred back. It was the golden opportunity for reactionaries. Sir Charles Trevelyan, President of the Board of Education, addressing the Conference, rather encouraged the spirit of discontent. The teachers knew, he said, the importance of having the school age raised and the Bill passed quickly. Well, the President knew it too. They wanted the Bill as soon as possible; he wanted them to go on wanting and pressing. There is evidently a struggle going on in the Cabinet on this issue. The Bill will clearly be unpopular unless generous maintenance allowances are given, but Mr. Snowden is in no mood to increase the sum already allocated for this purpose.

* * *

After referring to the school age, Sir Charles Trevelyan devoted the bulk of his speech to the "prickly question" of the voluntary schools in relation to the whole policy of the Hadow Report. On this matter, he promised a White Paper, which has now been published and comes to hand as we go to press. The principal change involved in the Hadow policy is that, from the age of eleven, all children should be educated in senior schools, and this, with the raising of the leaving age, necessitates the enlargement of many existing schools and, in some cases, the building of new senior schools. Much depends on the part which the voluntary schools can play in this development, but many of them are without the funds necessary for reconditioning and enlargement. In these

circumstances, Sir Charles Trevelyan proposes to give the Local Education Authorities power to make grants for the improvement of non-provided schools, and that where such grants are made the teachers of the schools concerned shall be appointed and removable by the L.E.A. The Managers would have the right to satisfy themselves that a reasonable proportion of the teachers were willing and competent to give special religious instruction in accordance with the complexion of the school. The scheme seems well calculated to promote the efficiency of the schools. Whether it will prove acceptable to the Churches and the teachers remains to be seen. Its weakness seems to lie in the advantage which it would give to teachers with orthodox religious views.

* * *

A Temporary Commercial Agreement between Great Britain and the Soviet Union was signed by Mr. Henderson and M. Sokolnikoff on April 16th. The agreement provides generally for a mutual accord of most-favoured-nation treatment, with national treatment for shipping, and most-favoured-nation treatment as regards the coasting trade, "subject to the reservation of the right of cabotage as regards trade between two ports on the same coast." This appears to involve the withdrawal of the old Russian claim, to which British shipowners have long strenuously objected, to exclude foreign shipping from (e.g.) voyages between Russian ports in the Baltic and Black Sea or Pacific. All special discrimination on either side is prohibited, and Anglo-Russian trade is to be eligible, on the same terms as any other trade, for the grant of export credits. The Soviet Government are entitled to establish a Trade Delegation in Great Britain, consisting of a Trade Representative and two Deputies. These three persons and the offices of the Delegation are to enjoy diplomatic immunity, the offices being used solely for commercial purposes. Commercial transactions entered into by the Trade Delegation in Great Britain are to be subject to the jurisdiction of the British Courts. Provided always that the immunities of the Trade Delegation are not abused, the agreement should benefit both countries.

* * *

The formation of the Bankers' Industrial Development Company, Ltd., of which Mr. Thomas gave some particulars in the House last week, fulfils the cryptic undertaking which the Lord Privy Seal made in his speech at Manchester, and forges an instrument which should do much to promote industrial rationalization. Since the Company results primarily from the initiative and leadership of Mr. Montagu Norman, it is appropriate that the Bank of England should retain effective control. The Bank will provide one quarter of the Company's capital of £6,000,000; the remaining three-quarters will be drawn from most of the important financial houses in the City, whose co-operation and interest are thereby secured. While too much must not be expected from this adventure, and while the results will certainly not make themselves apparent within the next few months, the new Company's operation should unquestionably give a strong stimulus to the cleansing and reorganization of industry which are essential to the restoration of our economic health. No doubt an initial period of experiment will be necessary; but thereafter, given the will on the part of industry to rationalize itself, the existence of B.I.D. Co. should ensure that financial obstacles will not bar the way. Some day a romantic story will be told of Mr. Montagu Norman's crusades, first for the rescue of Europe, and then for the salvation of British industry.

PROGRESS

MR. LOWES DICKINSON, discussing disarmament in 1917, in a book* which was in many respects ahead of enlightened opinion, wrote as follows:—

"What about British security at sea? I will answer that question briefly, but, I hope, in a way satisfactory to the reader. Any proportion that may be fixed by agreement for reduction of armaments, taking account of all the relevant factors, would leave the British Navy preponderant. And I agree that we could not as yet accept any other arrangement. Unless and until it is possible to substitute an international for national forces, that cardinal principle of British policy cannot be abandoned. So long as the chance of war must be reckoned with, or until there is an international navy, the naval preponderance of this country is essential to us. And I believe that all States, in coming to an agreement about armaments, would recognize that."

Needless to say, we do not quote that passage to taunt Mr. Lowes Dickinson with lack of prescience; he has been so much in the right that he could well afford to acknowledge a slip. We quote it as a striking illustration of the fact that, "This 'ere progress, it do go on."

The British pride themselves on their capacity for facing facts, and there is justification for that claim in the rapidity with which public opinion has adjusted itself to the necessity of naval equality with the United States and allowed that principle to be embodied in a treaty. It is easy to regard what has been achieved as an inevitable minimum and to grumble at its limitations, but we should remember that if the Churchill school of politicians had had their way, American parity would only have been admitted after a ruinous competition in naval armaments with its accompanying friction and peril. If the task of statesmanship is to anticipate the inevitable and to sweeten it with good will, Mr. MacDonald should be heartily congratulated upon the completion of the work which Lord Balfour began at Washington in 1922.

We review the details of the Naval Pacts in another article this week. Our intention here is to consider the broader aspects of the situation left by the Conference.

It was probably Lord Cecil who first divided the problems of organizing peace into three groups; those of Arbitration, Security, and Disarmament. With the first and second considerable progress has been made at Geneva and Locarno, and, by the signature of the Kellogg Pact, in Paris. But all three must keep in step if the structure of peace is to be made secure, and Disarmament has hitherto—with the notable exception of the Washington Treaty—lagged stubbornly behind. Yet no less an authority than Lord Grey has told us that "the enormous growth of armaments in Europe, the sense of insecurity and fear caused by them—it was these that made war inevitable." It is a tragic paradox, therefore, that despite the League, despite Locarno, and despite the Kellogg Pact, these great armaments should have been continued—and with them the sense of insecurity and fear—on the plea that security must precede disarmament. There can be no real security without disarmament. That is at least as true as it is to say that there could be no substantial reduction of armaments until provision had been made for the peaceful settlement of international disputes,

and the outlawry of war by the pledge of collective resistance to aggression. The three aspects of an organized peace must, we repeat, be developed side by side, and it was the turn of Disarmament to be brought into line. To what extent has this been done at the London Conference?

The Three-Power Pact is, in our judgment, a great and highly satisfactory achievement. To do full justice to it, it is necessary to recall the circumstances in which President Hoover and Mr. MacDonald took office in their respective countries. A competition, fraught with the utmost danger to the relations between the United States and Britain, was developing in the types of warships which remained unrestricted by the Washington Treaty. The Conference called by President Coolidge at Geneva in 1927 had broken down. The situation had been further bungled by Sir Austen Chamberlain's "Conversations" with France, which had resulted in proposals utterly unacceptable to the United States. Many people on both sides of the Atlantic were saying that war between us was "unthinkable," which meant, as someone remarked at the time, that they were thinking of it. Something had to be done quickly or the position would have gone from bad to worse. To-day the nightmare has been ended. Anglo-American relations have become genuinely cordial, and the foundations of a permanent friendship seem to have been well and truly laid. An agreement has been reached between the United States, Japan, and Britain limiting the construction of every type of warship, and thus making competitive building impossible for a term of years. For the British taxpayer there are also substantial savings. We should have liked to have seen these even greater. The important thing at this Conference was, however, limitation, not reduction; and it was essential that no excuse should be given for panic building if a Tory Government were to be returned to power. The reduction of our demand for cruisers from seventy to fifty is probably as much as could be achieved without risk of a reversal of policy later on, and the postponement of replacement programmes for the vessels limited at Washington is particularly welcome. If all goes well there should be a further postponement in 1936.

The only serious flaw in the Three-Power Pact is the safeguarding clause, which was rendered inevitable by the failure to reach a full Five-Power agreement. It is impossible, however, to believe that France will be so unneighbourly as to undertake new construction on a scale which would compel Britain to seek release from the terms of the Three-Power Pact. Indeed, one might almost assume that in the course of those long conversations in London some informal assurance was given with regard to the French naval programme.

The Five-Power Pact is, of course, an amorphous and shadowy affair. It is disappointing that France and Italy could not be persuaded to complete the object-lesson in armament-limitation which the three greatest naval Powers have presented to the world. Apart from its immediate value, an effective agreement between all the States represented at the Conference would have given an immense impetus to the general movement towards disarmament. Even as things are, the London Conference has gained enormously in value

* "The Choice Before Us." (Allen & Unwin. 6s.)

through the participation of France and Italy. Much ground has been cleared, and the way is open for the adhesion of either or both those Powers in 1936, or at any earlier date. It is impossible for an outside observer to apportion the blame for their failure to come in at once. Only those who were present at the secret meetings are in a position to do that. French statesmen talk much of "security," but it is difficult to believe that they can feel secure in a world of gigantic armaments, though their own may at present predominate. Do they imagine, for instance, that Germany can be kept permanently disarmed if the late Allies fail to carry out their part of the bargain? It is to be feared that the ruling parties in France still seek first to preserve her individual power, and that, for all their talk of collective guarantees, they are not yet converted to the League of Nations idea. But the French fear isolation above all things, and we are not without hope that they will eventually come into line.

The Italian position was superficially logical. They professed to desire the lowest possible level of naval armaments, but claimed the right to equal strength with France. It is not, however, reasonable, at this stage in the development of international institutions, for any Power to claim an equality which she could not reach under conditions of competition. Italy might fairly have reserved the right to reassert her claim to equality at some later date. It is said, however, that she was not content to do this. Her statesmen are presumably worshipping that false God, Prestige—an idol that has brought ruin upon many misguided peoples. It would be difficult, perhaps, to persuade Fascist Italy that she would be more respected for good international behaviour than for arrogant claims, but that is undoubtedly the case.

There remains the question as to whether any share in the failure to achieve a complete Five-Power Pact can be attributed to the representatives of the United States or Britain. The Americans were apparently asked whether they would undertake to consult with the other signatories of the Kellogg Pact in the event of that Pact being broken. They replied that they had no objection to such an undertaking in itself, but that they would not give it in order to bring France into a naval agreement. In our judgment, that was clearly the right answer. Unless the United States is prepared to come virtually into the League itself—which is certainly not the case at present—it is difficult to see how a more favourable reply could have been given. With Britain the case is different. She is a signatory, not only of the Kellogg Pact and of the Locarno Treaties, but of the League Covenant. She is therefore committed by Article 16, as we showed a fortnight ago, to resist aggression against any other Member of the League. There has been so much loose talk lately on the subject of sanctions that France may well have asked whether we stood by that engagement. It is known indeed that some such question was raised, but the reply is not known. If it was not an unequivocal affirmative, our own spokesmen cannot be held blameless for the partial failure of the Conference.

The issue is indeed one of permanent importance, and we are entitled to know the Government's attitude upon it. The publication of Mr. Harold Nicolson's

Life of Lord Carnock has reopened the controversy as to whether Sir Edward Grey could have averted the War by demonstrating the solidarity of the Entente. We believe that he would have been fatally wrong to have done so, because it might have encouraged Russia to become the aggressor. The whole discussion should, however, serve to bring home to us the importance of making it perfectly clear before a crisis arises that any disturber of the peace will be "deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League." Only so can we create that organized community of nations in which real disarmament will be practicable.

THE BALANCE-SHEET OF THE CONFERENCE

THE Balance-Sheet of the Naval Conference is one of those in which the figures of debits and credits convey very little until allowance has been made for contingent liabilities and hidden reserves. The tangible results of the Conference are substantial, but they derive their chief significance from the possibilities of future development which they open up, and failure to realize those possibilities may jeopardize much of what has already been achieved.

It would be wholly misleading, in fact, to regard the Treaty signed at St. James's Palace, on April 22nd, as an end in itself. It represents, both formally and in fact, a stage in a continuing process. The Treaty is divided into five Parts. Part I., binding on all five Powers, provides for a "battleship holiday" during the years 1930-36. Part II. lays down certain rules and definitions relating to the replacement age of warships, methods of scrapping, and other matters on which all five Powers have agreed. Part III. embodies a definite agreement between the British Empire, the United States, and Japan, setting out, by categories, the maximum strength of their respective fleets on December 31st, 1936, with a safeguarding clause, permitting a revision of the figures if "the requirements of national security" are "materially affected by new construction" on the part of any Power not participating in the agreement. Part IV., binding on all five Powers, prohibits unrestricted submarine warfare against commerce, and this is the only section of the Treaty which is complete in itself, and declared to remain in force "without limit of time." By Part V., the duration of the Treaty (except for Part IV.) is limited to December 31st, 1936; but the five Powers bind themselves to meet in Conference during 1935 for the purpose of framing a new treaty for naval limitation, unless "a more general agreement limiting naval armaments" shall have rendered this step superfluous. Although not so stated in the Treaty, it has been announced by the chief delegates that the British, French, and Italian Governments will, in the meantime, continue negotiations, with a view to finding some solution of the questions at issue between them, which will permit of French and Italian adhesion to the Three-Power Agreement.

Thus the achievement of the Conference is two-fold. In the first place, the three leading Naval Powers have reached, as between themselves, an agreement for the limitation and reduction of their fleets, translated into definite figures for each category. In the second place, all five Powers are definitely pledged, before all the world, to continue their efforts to "facilitate the progressive realization

of general limitation and reduction of armaments," and they cannot admit failure without proclaiming to the world the bankruptcy of their statesmanship. What has been done in London in 1930, must be taken as a promise of wider limitation and more drastic reduction in or before 1936.

Keeping this in mind, let us examine the actual provisions of the Treaty. Part I. provides, in the first place, that the five Powers agree to renounce their rights of Capital Ship replacement, under the Washington Treaty, for the years 1930-1936. During those years the British Empire and the United States were each entitled to lay down ten ships of 35,000 tons, and Japan six. France and Italy were each entitled to lay down Capital Ships to the extent of 105,000 tons. Each "standard" ship would cost approximately £7,000,000. The whole of this vast expenditure is definitely postponed until 1937 at the earliest, and this is a far greater gain than any possible reduction in the size of replacement units. Replacement means expenditure, and a possible competition in new types. Postponement opens the door to further postponement in 1935.

There is one proviso of importance. France and Italy were each entitled to lay down 70,000 tons of Capital Ships in 1927-29. They retain the right to lay down this tonnage in replacement of existing ships. Should they use it to build "pocket-battleships" in reply to the German "Ersatz-Preussen," the pace may be set for a new competition after 1936. The moral would appear to be the desirability of including Germany in future naval discussions.

In addition to the postponement of replacement, the British Empire agrees to accelerate the scrapping of five ships which reach their age-limit in 1934-35; the United States gives a similar undertaking with regard to three such vessels, and Japan accelerates the scrapping of one. Two British ships and one American are to be "rendered unfit for warlike service" within twelve months of the Treaty's coming into force; the remainder within eighteen months. Each Power is permitted to retain one ship, after demilitarization, as a training vessel.

Under the terms of the Washington Treaty, the British Empire retained twenty Capital Ships to the American eighteen, as an offset to the larger proportion of post-Jutland ships in the American fleet; but the scheduled programme of scrapping and replacement would have brought the three Powers, by 1936, to their standard ratio of 15 : 15 : 9. The present Agreement merely anticipates that result, though it may leave the British fleet a little weaker, relatively, than it would have been, had the schedule been adhered to. Coupled with the postponement of replacements, it will effect a considerable saving in maintenance charges, and probably carries the reduction of capital ship tonnage as far as could reasonably be expected in the circumstances of the moment. The tonnage comparison is as follows:—

Capital Ships :

| | Quota. | Existing. | Treaty. |
|----------------|---------|-----------|---------|
| British Empire | 525,000 | 556,350 | 427,850 |
| U. S. A. ... | 525,000 | 525,850 | 456,200 |
| Japan ... | 315,000 | 301,320 | 273,820 |

Passing over, for the moment, Part II. of the Treaty, we come to the Three-Power Agreement, embodied in Part III. The effect of this Agreement can best be shown in tabular form, as a comparison with the tonnage built,

building, or appropriated for on December 1st, 1929, after deducting vessels obsolescent at that date.

Cruisers :

| | Built & Bldg. | Treaty. | Change. |
|----------------|---------------|---------|----------|
| British Empire | 395,911 | 339,000 | — 56,911 |
| U. S. A. ... | 250,000* | 323,500 | + 73,000 |
| Japan ... | 207,155 | 208,850 | + 1,695 |

Destroyers :

| | | | |
|----------------|---------|---------|-----------|
| British Empire | 196,761 | 150,000 | — 46,761 |
| U. S. A. ... | 291,121 | 150,000 | — 141,121 |
| Japan ... | 129,405 | 105,500 | — 23,905 |

Submarines :

| | | | |
|----------------|--------|--------|----------|
| British Empire | 66,364 | 52,700 | — 13,664 |
| U. S. A. ... | 86,248 | 52,700 | — 33,548 |
| Japan ... | 78,497 | 52,700 | — 25,797 |

* Plus 50,000 projected.

The number of 8-in. gun cruisers is fixed for the British Empire at fifteen (146,800 tons), for the United States at eighteen (180,000 tons), and for Japan at twelve (108,400 tons). The United States undertakes to complete only fifteen of these ships by 1935, and has the option of exchanging the other three for their equivalent in light cruisers. Should she build the three big ships, it is understood that Japan will ask, in 1936, for an increased quota.

Ordinary destroyers are restricted to 1,500 tons; Flotilla Leaders (not to form more than 16 per cent. of the whole) to 1,850 tons. Transfer is allowed, as between light cruisers and destroyers, up to 10 per cent. of the category into which the transfer is made.

The Agreement embodies concessions by all three Powers. Great Britain has scaled down her numerical demand in cruisers from seventy to fifty; the United States has abandoned her claim to take out her whole cruiser tonnage in 8-in. gun ships; Japan postpones the question of a 70 per cent. ratio in big cruisers, and accepts parity in submarines at a lower figure than she proposed. The net result is a reduction in the total British figures for these classes of 117,336 tons; in the American of 101,669 (or 151,669 if account is taken of five big cruisers "projected"); in the Japanese of 48,007 tons.

This is, at least, a good beginning. The one serious anxiety arises over the "safeguarding" clause permitting any Power to increase its tonnage, at its own discretion (though only on giving notice with a statement of its reasons), should its security be menaced by increased construction abroad. The danger lies, of course, in the fact that should Great Britain be compelled to increase her cruiser or destroyer tonnage as a result of French expansion, the United States would probably feel obliged to take advantage of her Treaty right to follow suit, and the increased expenditure would be strongly resented by American opinion.

Yet the clause was undoubtedly necessary. Indeed, the British White Paper suggests that the British destroyer tonnage was fixed on the assumption of an actual reduction in the figures of the French destroyer and submarine flotillas. (The French are aiming at about 100,000 tons of submarines by 1936.) Mr. MacDonald assures us, however, that he has every hope that it will never become necessary to apply the clause, and it seems reasonable to believe that some informal assurance has been secured as to the course of French and Italian building in the immediate future, or at least that the conversations between the delegates have given good hope of such assurance. The heavy cuts made on all previous estimates of British requirements certainly entitle us to ask for it.

The whole Agreement is subject to the provisions of Part II. of the Treaty, which are binding also on France and Italy. Only the more important of them can be briefly summarized here.

Replacement Rules.—The minimum life of surface vessels over 3,000 tons is fixed at twenty years (or sixteen years for vessels laid down before January 1st, 1920); of surface vessels under 3,000 at sixteen years (or twelve years if laid down before January 1st, 1921); of submarines at thirteen years. Replacement keels are not to be laid down more than three years before the year in which the vessel to be replaced becomes over age (or two years in the case of surface vessels under 3,000 tons). Full particulars of all new ships are to be furnished to all other signatories. Stringent rules are laid down as to the method of scrapping ships replaced.

Exempt Vessels.—The classes of vessels exempt from naval limitation are (a) surface vessels under 600 tons; (b) specified vessels (set out in a schedule) employed in non-combatant or subsidiary duties, such as training ships, dispatch vessels, and submarine dépôt ships. The least satisfactory feature is the exclusion from limitation of certain vessels fitted as minelayers.

Submarines.—The maximum tonnage of submarines is limited to 2,000 tons, except that each Power may retain or build three large submarine cruisers of the "Surcouf" type (2,800 tons).

The importance of these provisions, which are drawn with great care and go into great detail, is two-fold. In the first place, their acceptance by all five Powers will save much time, and avert much friction, when a more comprehensive limitation agreement comes to be drawn up. In the second place, they show clearly that when once the statesmen can agree on principles, the ingenuity of the experts will be equal to translating principle into practice. Some very thorny questions fell to be solved in drawing up Part II.; they have been dealt with skilfully.

It is bad business that the opposition of Italy prevented a category-tonnage formula from being included. It is bad business also that the maximum tonnage for submarines has been fixed so high; but compensation for this is found in the drastic restriction placed on the building of "Surcoufs," and in the provisions of Part IV. These compel the submarine to fulfil the ordinary requirements of visit and search in her attack on commerce, and forbid the sinking of any merchantman without full provision for the safety of passengers and crew. A ship's boats are specifically stated not to constitute "a place of safety," except in fine weather and very near land. These rules, definitely embodied in a Five-Power Treaty, should ease considerably the discussion of the submarine problem.

All this is good; but all this will fail to satisfy those who hoped for a definite Five-Power Limitation Agreement and for much heavier tonnage reductions. Yet the Conference ends with a balance on the right side. Admittedly the failure to reach full agreement is a grave disappointment, and holds, in the "safeguarding" clause, a possible menace to the good accord established between the three leading naval Powers. But the Treaty is not to be judged as an isolated incident. It contains within itself the assurance of further endeavours to limit and reduce naval armaments, and it cannot fail to give those endeavours a strong impetus. The British White Paper estimates the financial savings of Great Britain, down to 1936, as £54,000,000 under the "battleship" holiday, and at least £13,000,000 under the Three-Power Agreement. Such an illustration of what disarmament means in hard cash alone is not likely to be wasted on the peoples of the Five Powers.

THE ARABS AND THE PALESTINE REPORT

THE Arabs of Palestine have never been reconciled to the policy of the Jewish National Home. They regard it as involving the invasion of their country by a foreign people. In this view they are justified historically. For many centuries the Jewish community in Palestine has been not only insignificantly small, but also of a character by no means repugnant to the great Arab majority—a character, that is to say, very different from that of the new "Zionist," with his resuscitated Hebrew and his occidental outlook and backing. During the war the Arabs were encouraged by British propaganda to hope for the foundation of an independent Arab State in which Palestine should be included, and in this hope contributed in some measure to the British defeat of the Turks. Their first disappointment was the constitution of Palestine as a separate State and its subjection to Great Britain as Mandatory power. The Mandate policy implied, however, the gradual development of self-government, and so, as no more than a postponement of their hopes, would not have been in itself intolerable. On the other hand, the proposal to form at the same time in their country a national home for another people virtually dashed these hopes. For unless they could be assured of maintaining their supremacy in numbers, independent government, when it came, would mean for them actual or potential subordination to the Jews; and this assurance was by no means furnished by the terms of the Mandate, and was definitely contradicted by many even relatively moderate pronouncements of the Zionists. From the first, accordingly, the Arabs have declined to co-operate in the new regime, which was not only imposed on them against their will, but is all but bound to injure their interests.

The whole situation in Palestine is reviewed in the report of the Commission on the disturbances of last August. The Commission was appointed not only "to inquire into the immediate causes which led to the recent outbreak," but "to make recommendations as to the steps necessary to avoid a recurrence"; and on the latter ground, seeing at once that the recent clash was the outcome of a fundamental opposition between the aims of the two communities, undertook a thorough examination of their relations. The Commission found "that the outbreak . . . was from the beginning an attack by Arabs on Jews, for which no excuse in the form of earlier murders by Jews has been established." But it also found that "the outbreak was not premeditated," and again that it "neither was nor was intended to be a revolt against British authority in Palestine." Even its findings concerning the riots, accordingly, are not unpalatable to the Arabs. For, first, the riots may thus be regarded as a spontaneous protest by their people against injustice, and an evidence, not wholly discreditable, that they are loath to succumb without a fight. Secondly, it has been shown that what provoked them to this point was not the presence of the British but the invasion of the Jews. With the report as a whole, Arab opinion is better satisfied still, since it presents their case, as well as that of the Jews, with admirable clarity and impartiality; and their case, they consider, speaks for itself. They impugn its findings on the question of the Rutenberg and Novomeyski concessions, indeed; but maintain that had there been available certain evidence that they were unable at the time to produce, on this point as well the Commissioners would have seen the force of their contentions.

It is probable that the Arabs would now be ready to recognize the establishment of a Jewish home in Palestine,

if they could be certain that, as far as may be predictable, the Jewish section of the population will always remain in a fairly small minority, as at present. The report emphasizes the need for defining the clause in the Mandate limiting the authority to settle Jews in Palestine: the Clause reads, "whilst ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced." This clause might now be interpreted in such a way as to assure the Arabs of Palestine that they may look forward to eventual, not too far distant, control of their country. I believe that if this were done, but only if so, they would settle down to the two accomplished facts of the temporary Mandate and the experimental Jewish Home, and contribute with a will to the creation of the independent State they so much desire—within which a modest refuge for the Jews might harmlessly exist.

HAROLD BOWEN.

THE IDEAL LAUREATE

THE Victorian spirit commissioned a number of men of genius to remain on the chaotic scene, and still the scene of new promise, which terminated the main effects of Victorianism; to remain there, reserved yet influential, modest yet exalted, blessing at once and tantalizing the tentative regeneration. One more of them is gone, and has surprised us by going even at the age of eighty-six. The youthfulness, even the boyishness of Robert Bridges had become so perennially clear a picture that one never opened a newspaper with the apprehension of finding his name in the obituary. Since he was so exactly and happily an Englishman, it may not be inappropriate to say that the man himself was, as seen in his old age, a triumph of the English race. Whoever set eyes on him and his easy, fearless, spirited movements, or heard his fresh, decisive conversation, must have felt that a country which produces such a veteran is fortunate. Had Shelley lived into his eightieth year, there could hardly have been a surer union of strength and beauty in his presence.

The unconquered nimbleness of body in the Laureate was not more remarkable than that spiritual and intellectual alacrity which resulted in his splendid philosophical poem and final metrical innovation. Hardy, with "The Dynasts" long established among the grandeurs, ended his work with nothing of anti-climax indeed, but with a diminuendo; Bridges, with all his variety of lyric and essay in existence, had nevertheless a late opportunity to crown his labour with an invention of ampler sway and profounder speculation. He took that opportunity. Normally those who awake to find themselves famous are young in years. Bridges changed all that.

Perhaps the Victorian spirit already suspected of irony would smile faintly at the suggestion that a Poet Laureate can be other than a famous man. Nor would one overstate the case of Robert Bridges. Yet "The Testament of Beauty" was "the turning-point in his career" as they say; nothing like that revelation's popularity had happened to him before. His earlier writings (beginning, to the best of my knowledge, with a book of verse in 1873) had won him something like the reputation of Landor, but still more secluded and unhurried. A faithful audience purchased the "Shorter Poems" (the third edition of the collection, dated 1891, now before me, shows that they did their best). About twenty years later there appeared what might be called a "popular edition" of his poetical works

at the Oxford University Press; among those who acquired this, I proudly remember, was the present writer. Clearly the Bridges public was growing; and the observation on the anthology lettered "Bridges to Kipling," "What do we want bridges to Kipling for?", seemed to belong to the Dark Ages. Mr. Asquith in a moment of inspiration chose the poet for the mantle of Tennyson. Obscurity still prevailed, and the new Laureate "reigned a private man." Occasionally, disapproval of the situation was expressed by a journalist; the situation remained obscure. After the War, the eminence but hardly the importance of Robert Bridges began to be observed and accepted; his poetry continued to be published and esteemed. Then, "The Testament of Beauty" lit up the academic sculpture with which the name of the Laureate was tastefully embellished, and all eyes turned with sudden wonder towards the now conspicuous and significant Robert Bridges.

The office of Poet Laureate has been ridiculed, and its abolition urged, by many men who should have known better, even some Victorians. Whether the latest holder left any explicit statement of his view of Laureateship, I do not know; I venture to think that none of his predecessors ever exhibited in practice a fuller or finer comprehension of the functions proper to the national poet. In the first place, Bridges displayed the dignity of poetry. Servility or opportunism, that have not one of the many mansions in that palace, found no approach to him. He continued to be the same sensitive melodist and interpreter of scene and thought as before. He was not unwilling to write on a national theme—but then, it would be also his own by nature, as, the tercentenary of Shakespeare. Then, since poetry is only one of the instruments by which the character of a nation is to be cultivated, enlightened, and directed, Bridges continually brought into action his other auxiliary gifts and studies. Those were numerous. He was intent upon (to catalogue these ideals crudely) the speech of England, how we should pronounce it, and how write it down; upon the music of England, and the improvement of voice and verse in religious services; upon the general realization of poetry in its total influence and its minor construction; upon typography, which plays for better or worse on our daily life; upon the illumining of poetical achievements not generally known; and upon the worth, cheerfulness, aspiration, and endurance of the English people. "The Spirit of Man" was a Laureate work, although not what a narrow conception of the Laureateship would term so; its making was poetical, and its effect in companioning us at a terrible period with a rich, distilled perfume of culture was Miltonic, "compleat, and generous."

But these words are not in the nature of a panegyric; for Bridges remains still with the reader as he personally regards him, a private man, to whose music each is invited without strain or demand. The "Shorter Poems," maybe, are securest in our capricious memories; their fluting was of so silvery a touch, so charming a juncture. It is nearly the hour again to repeat his,

Wanton with long delay the gay spring leaping cometh;
The blackthorn starreth now his bough on the eve
of May:

All day in the sweet box-tree the bee for pleasure
hummeth,
The cuckoo sends afloat his note on the air all day,"

and to seek what fancy vows to be his especial "bower beside the silver Thames."

EDMUND BLUNDEN.

PACT AND PLUNDER

Two rival gangs of gunmen in Chicago are reported to have celebrated Easter by a peace pact binding them to drop their feud and respect each other's sphere of operations.

How consoling, how inspiring is the fact
Of the Pact
Made between the rival gangs who have for years
(So one hears)
Set the gunmen of Chicago by the ears!

With how dainty, how appropriate a thought
Have they wrought,
To present their league, for amity's increase
And for peace,
As an Easter Egg to city and police!

And I wonder, will the precedent appeal
To the zeal
Of the factions whose inveterate debate,
Scorn and hate,
Rend the parties who aspire to rule the State?

Will the I.L.P. no longer seek to sack
Ramsay Mac?
Shall we see a sudden rush of Tory braves
From the caves
Where they sit and sulk and call each other knaves?

For myself, I own the prospect shakes my nerve:
I observe
That the pact between the gentlemen who shoot
Takes its root
In an equitable sharing out of loot.

So, when Snowden marches forward with the Clyde,
Side by side;
Or the Tories lend an ear to Baldwin's call
Not to brawl;
We, by tariff or by tax, shall pay for all.
MACFLECKNOE.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE BEGINNING OF SOCIALISM

SIR,—Your reiterated rhetoric about "the limits of insular socialism" calls for a reply; or a protest rather, for a reasoned answer would be too long for a "letter to the Editor."

First, then, you seem to have forgotten what socialism is. Apparently you identify it with "redistributive taxation"—taxing the rich and spending the proceeds on the poor. But that is merely a method of advancing towards one of the main objectives of socialism (equalization of incomes) *within the framework of a capitalist society*. It is socialistic, if you like; but it isn't socialism. Nor, as some people calling themselves socialists seem to think, is the public control of industry. On the economic side, the keystone of socialism is *the public ownership of income-yielding property*. And one of the main reasons—to my mind the main reason—for advocating that is the belief that, beyond a certain point, equalization of incomes is impossible so long as income-yielding property is privately owned. That is precisely why so many people are socialists. If, then, you are right in thinking that "the utmost limit to which redistributive taxation can safely be pushed in this country" has now been reached, the moral would seem to be not that socialists should throw up the sponge, but that they should set to work on their central task—the substitution of public for private ownership of capital and land. The day when further equalization of incomes becomes impossible under capitalism will mark, not the end, but the beginning of socialism.

But what exactly do you mean by "the utmost limit to which redistributive taxation can safely be pushed"? You

will not argue, I imagine, that there is danger lest another sixpence on the income-tax or a further increase in surtax or death duties or a tax on site-values will yield no revenue at all. Do you mean, then, that further taxation of the rich would so reduce the demand for labour that the earnings of the working class would be diminished by as much or more than the revenue raised? That is, no doubt, conceivable under certain conditions: but, in view of past experience, it would take much stronger evidence and much fuller quantitative analysis than you have offered to convince me that it holds good in present circumstances. Won't you give us the figures on which your conclusion is based?

Though I am not expert in monetary matters and therefore speak with diffidence, I venture to think that you exaggerate the danger of "a flight from the pound." No doubt, fear of additional taxation may cause a few wealthy *rentiers* to transfer their investments into foreign securities and betake themselves abroad; and a certain quantity of foreign balances to be withdrawn or withheld from this country. This would cause *some* adverse movement of the exchanges. But would it be so large as to necessitate an increase of money rates which would seriously hamper industry here?

In itself, the emigration of a *rentier* inflicts no loss on the rest of the community, since the resources which would have served him are released for the use of other people. True, there may be difficulties in the way of adapting revenues to new uses, but the movement is not yet on a large enough scale to make them formidable, and even if it were there is no reason to think them insurmountable. Apart from this transitional problem and the loss of revenue when the foreign securities he buys or holds were being taxed in this country, what is lost is the *émigré's* prospective contribution to new capital. Which brings me back to the point I started from.

At bottom, what you are insisting on is the difficulty of taxing the rich very heavily and at the same time relying on them to provide our new capital for us. I agree that there is a limit to this proceeding (though I am not convinced that we are as near to it as you think). But surely the inference is that the function of providing new capital should not be left to the voluntary action of people with large incomes, but should be taken over by the State; and that we ought to be thinking out ways by which this can be done.

One would seem to be to raise a substantial annual sum by direct taxation of the rich and to transfer it to a national Investment and Development Board for investment in income-yielding undertakings. If the income were for the time being reinvested and the £50 millions we are at present spending on repayment of debt were also handed over to the Board for investment (which it well might be, since the Board should be able to earn more than 5 per cent. on the money), the State would before long acquire an appreciable share in the income-yielding property of the country and a permanent and substantial source of revenue for social purposes. In view of the distinction you draw between redistributive and productive expenditure, I have some hope that you might support a policy of this kind. But you would have to give up talking about the end of socialism, for you would be helping to introduce it.—
Yours, &c.,
G. F. SHOVE.

12, Grantchester Road, Cambridge.
April 22nd, 1930.

[We hope to return to this subject in an early issue.—
Ed., NATION.]

THE VOLUNTARY HOSPITALS

SIR,—As a member of the Board of Management of one of the smaller of our London General Hospitals, I was very much interested in the article of Dr. Bonnard contained in your issue of the 5th instant. As she rightly says, the passing of the Local Government Act brings with it a problem which will need most careful and serious consideration from all who are concerned to preserve and extend our magnificent voluntary hospital system which, so far, has borne the principal burden of caring for the sick and suffer-

ing of our country. No doubt it will, as Dr. Bonnard suggests, call for a large measure of good will and co-operation from all concerned if the dual system, which will now prevail, is to succeed and not to be the occasion of unnecessary competition and overlapping. Whether it will result in our voluntary hospitals calling on the Government to relieve them of their financial responsibilities I venture to doubt, and, in any event, I sincerely trust that this will not lead to any degree of State management, which might be the inevitable result of State assistance. Rather let those responsible for our voluntary hospitals see whether it is not possible to make them more self-supporting, *e.g.*, by extending the system of paying beds, which is already in vogue in some of our larger hospitals.

The hospital with which I am concerned is now embarking upon a large building extension, and it is proposed to incorporate in this a considerable number of paying beds, which will provide accommodation for those able and willing to pay a reasonable charge for the treatment and service they receive, and who would prefer this rather than go to a nursing home, usually very expensive and inefficient. By means of this we hope to obtain a considerable increase in income to meet our expenditure. I gather that in America this scheme is almost universal in all the large hospitals, and no one there, whatever may be his position in life, would think of going to a nursing home in preference to a hospital of this description.

In any event, we must at all costs preserve and maintain the wonderful spirit of charity and service which has for so many years past built up and maintained our voluntary hospital system, which, I venture to assert, is second to none throughout the world. As Lord Moynahan truly said in an address given at the London Temperance Hospital a few days ago:—

"The voluntary hospital system has many accusers—I think it has more now than it ever had before—but those of us who have a profound and unalterable belief in the voluntary hospital system are quite undismayed by the attachment of certain other people to a different form of hospital provision. Medical men are notoriously incompetent business people, and therefore, as a matter of business, I should not like to speak of the voluntary hospital system, but I would remind you of a certain few indisputable facts in connection with that system. During last year, the contributions to the voluntary hospital system—outside the King Edward's Hospital Fund—were £1,400,000 in excess of expenditure. Roughly, about 1,000 new beds are added every year to the voluntary hospital system; something like 3,000,000 new out-patients are treated every year, and last year about three-quarters of a million new in-patients were treated under this system. I am not one to judge, as I say, of business efficiency, but I think if I belonged to any company whose income exceeded its expenditure by, roughly, £1,400,000, I should not be exactly inclined to call that system moribund, or derelict, or out of keeping with the times, or lacking adequate financial support. The voluntary hospital system, as a matter of fact, was never more thriving than it is at this moment, and it is just as well we should remind ourselves of what these places have done for medicine and surgery in the past. I like to accuse my London friends of one particular thing in connection with the modern development of surgery, of which I stand at the moment as a representative. It is a perfectly true claim to make that the whole of the modern development of surgery in this country began, continued, and developed in the provincial voluntary hospitals of this country. London was an interested, or not too interested, spectator, and joined in the fray at a rather late stage, while other countries bore almost no share of the burden. The voluntary hospital system is responsible for all that you have seen in that amazing development of surgery which has occurred in the last fifty years, but if you go even further back into the history of medicine, there are, I would claim, three great names standing out above all others—the name of William Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood, John Hunter, who first changed surgery from barbarism into a science, and the name of Joseph Lister, who was the introducer, as you know, of the modern system of antiseptic surgery. William Harvey, John Hunter, and Joseph Lister were all trained, learned their business, and practised in the voluntary hospitals of this country. That, again, is one of the debts which mankind is quite unable to pay to these hospitals."

This testimony to our voluntary hospitals is the most emphatic witness I could call to the imperative necessity of their maintenance and continuance.—Yours, &c.,

HERBERT S. SYRETT.

2, John Street, Bedford Row, W.C.1.

April 17th, 1930

FLOGGING

SIR,—The letter from Mr. A. F. Day that appeared on April 12th is so eminently characteristic of what may be called the flagellant state of mind, that I hope you will allow me to make some observations upon it.

The letter, it would seem, was dictated by pious motives. In the course of this controversy the name of the late Sir John Day had been mentioned. It has often been mentioned in similar controversies before. For Sir John Day, as we all know, believed in flogging; and he never wavered in his faith. His flogging sentences, which were chiefly imposed at Liverpool in the eighties and nineties—some forty years ago—were frequent and severe. He was determined, if he could, to stamp out crimes of violence, and never allowed his severity to be diluted by any weak considerations of mercy. If he failed it was not his fault. Clearly it was the fault of the criminal classes. Sir John Day at least had done his best.

But Mr. A. F. Day would have us believe that he succeeded; and as his own knowledge of the subject was "somewhat indefinite," he wrote to a friend, who was likely to possess "more exact information," to ask for his help. The friend complied. His name is not given; but we are told that he "has had the advantage of working in Liverpool, with intervals, for at least a decade since the beginning of this century"; and supported by this advantage, he is good enough to give us "exact information" as to what happened at Liverpool some years before he worked there. He brushes aside statistics. He prefers to give us "the personal testimony" of the police and general public, endorsed by thirty years of tradition; which amounts, he says, to this, that Sir John Day was the one man who saved that city from the curse and plague of garrotting. "No statistics count," he adds impressively, "against that personal verdict of an entire community through so long a period." No, indeed; how could statistics count with a gentleman who can discover so easily the personal verdict of an entire community? It would be almost worth while to work in Liverpool, with intervals, for at least a decade, if one could thus learn to make such sweeping generalizations with so solemn an air.

The fact, however, remains that if "garrotting" means robbery with violence—and I know no other meaning—the statement made by this gentleman is false; and the personal verdict of an entire community—whatever that may be—cannot make it true. Sir John Day did not save Liverpool, either alone or with assistance, from the curse and plague of robbery with violence. He passed, as I have said, many sentences of flogging; the average number of lashes which he ordered to be inflicted, according to a Parliamentary return, was 269 a year; the severity of his sentences far exceeded that of any judge since his time; but at the end of ten years of his system there were considerably more cases of robbery with violence in Liverpool than when he began.

The truth is, I believe, that the survival in England—almost alone amongst the civilized countries of the world—of this form of torture is based on sentiment. The demand for the flogging of prisoners is no more than the desire, a very primitive and "natural" desire, to retaliate, to do violence to the man who has done violence to someone else—and all the talk about its deterrent effect is mere pretence, based on no experience whatever. If severity of punishment could prevent crime, all crime would long ago have disappeared from the earth; for in this matter legislators and judges have never been backward, and the memory of Sir John Day is pale indeed compared to that of many of his more famous predecessors. If the burning alive of heretics could have prevented heresy, the predominance of the Catholic Church would have been secure for ever; if the drawing and quartering of traitors could have made men loyal, there would have been no high treason; if the hanging of thieves could have prevented theft, the property of our forefathers would have been a good deal safer than it was; and if the flogging of prisoners could prevent robbery with violence, that crime also would long ago have ceased. But the criminal is usually an irrational creature.

He gambles in chances, he trusts to luck, he hopes he may escape detection. And in fact he very often does.

Let me conclude this letter with a quotation from Ives' "History of Penal Methods," a very interesting and valuable book which is not so well known as it deserves to be. If certainty of conviction, he says, could be achieved, it would make for the diminution of crime far more than any severity of punishment:—

"But as this certainty of conviction is impossible to arrive at, we shall not deter by terrible threats and occasional victim-making, and crime remains what it always was, 'a statistical average, a little less at times, a little more at others'—depending upon all sorts of complicated causes, and disregarding the penal system almost as completely as accidents ignore the state of hospital accommodation."

—Yours, &c.,

PHILIP MORRELL.

D. H. LAWRENCE

SIR,—I cannot tell Mr. Clive Bell the meaning of "straight out" and "high-brow" until he has defined what he means by "meaning," but I would like to remind your other readers that my letter, which occasions his questions, was occasioned by the death of D. H. Lawrence. They may not have agreed with what I said, Mr. Adamson, for example, did not, but they will scarcely misunderstand it or bark their shins on every other word unless they are expert controversialists. These, very properly, form a race apart, with difficulties and methods of their own.

I should also like to make a suggestion about Lawrence, if your space allows. He was both preacher and poet, and some people, myself included, do not sympathize with the preaching. Yet I feel that without the preaching the poetry could not exist. With some writers one can disentangle the two, with him they are inseparable. As he grew older, he became more didactic and mannered, and, if one differed from him, more tiresome; but the poetry, also, was increasing in strength. "The Plumed Serpent" blares out explicitly what the snowdrops in "The White Peacock" shyly hinted at, yet, exquisite as were those early woodlands, they droop towards unreality beneath the sunlight of Mexico. In a sense he never developed. One can hear from the first what he is going to say. But one never knows what his own message will evoke in him, and although I cannot believe in it, I believe it was the mainspring of his greatness.

—Yours, &c.,

E. M. FORSTER.

Reform Club, S.W.

April 22nd, 1930.

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

SIR,—There is one passage in Major Nathan's article that calls for explanation. In bringing out a fact that seems largely forgotten to-day, that the Balfour Declaration had something more concrete behind it than a mere sentimental affection for Zionist aspirations, Major Nathan suggests that one of the reasons behind its issue was the wish "to weaken the Jewish element in enemy countries." The wish may have been there, but to allow it to be thought that a British promise to Jewish advantage could have perverted the loyalty in time of war of the Jewish citizens of Germany and Austria, is to lend colour to the grossest absurdities of the anti-semitic propaganda in Germany and Austria to-day.

The fact is that there was sufficient to be gained in other directions by the issue of the Balfour Declaration to make it unnecessary for the British Government to place any expectations in the "weakening of the Jewish element in enemy countries." Mr. Leonard Stein, in his book "Zionism," points out that "Russia and the United States had between them more than half the Jewish population of the world. Russia was drifting out of the war, and the United States had still to come into it. In both countries a declaration of sympathy with Zionist aims might well be of advantage to the Allied cause."

Mr. Jacob de Haas, in his Biography of Judge Brandeis, tells us also that in America the Russian Jews (mostly refugees from Russian oppression) "were not in sympathy with the Russian cause, and Jews everywhere rightly felt that every Russian victory in Eastern Europe was a gain for the forces of oppression. This situation created an excellent

opportunity for German propaganda both in America and in Poland."

There was sufficient motive then for the Balfour Declaration in its rallying of a large and important body of opinion in America, which was just coming into the war, and incidentally it promoted in America enthusiastic recruiting for the Jewish Battalions which fought in Palestine with the British Army.

Moreover, there were at the time all sorts of vague rumours being spread as to what the Germans intended to do in Palestine if they won the war. Several months before the Balfour Declaration was issued, the German Press was urging the German Government to "encourage Austro-German Zionism and thus to take the wind out of the sails of the Anglo-American Powers." It is very possible that had there been no Balfour Declaration in 1917, the Germans would have issued something of the kind, and Count Bernstorff, then German Ambassador in Constantinople, has stated that he had definite instructions from his Government to obtain a promise to this effect from the Turkish Government.

There were sufficiently weighty reasons for the Balfour Declaration without dragging in aspersions upon the proved loyalty to their own countries of the Jewish citizens of the enemy States.—Yours, &c.,

JOSEPH LEFTWICH.

5, Jackson's Lane, Highgate, N.6.

April 16th, 1930.

INTERNATIONAL NAVAL AFFAIRS

SIR,—Now, when the five most powerful nations are conferring upon their naval relationships, is an opportune period in which to discuss the preliminary steps necessary for the formation of a permanent International Naval Force. Much well-meaning use is made nowadays of comfortable expressions to the effect that the Navy is intended mainly for police purposes and for protecting such as pass upon the seas on their lawful occasions.

Disagreement arises between nations as to what policy the several national "police" forces are to protect, and as to whose law is to decide which occasions are "lawful."

It is the purpose of war to enforce one's own policy and law upon the enemy; if Napoleon had succeeded he would have forced a common policy and law on the whole of Europe.

However happily, therefore, such phrases may sound, as to policing the seas, they are just as likely to lead to battle, murder, and sudden death as such jingles as:—

"We don't want to fight, but by Jingo if we do,

We've got the ships, we've got the men, we've got the money too."

Actually it is in the matter of cash that the nations are short at present, and the post-war Naval Disarmament discussions hitherto have been nothing more or less than attempts at mutual cash accommodation, each nation feeling the pressure from beneath urging to social progress, and each in turn finding it awkward to be spending so much in armaments.

One thing is certain, the seas require to be policed: no land area of great extent is international territory, free to all humankind; but the whole of the high seas is international in the full sense of the word, and the policing of these international waters will eventually be carried out by an international naval force directed by an international authority, and to discuss ways and means how to set such a force in being should now be the function of national spokesmen.

An international navy as adumbrated here should be a true international force, manned internationally and controlled solely by an Admiralty of the Seven Seas, which would form the naval side of the League of Nations. To commence with, such a force might be formed of two cruisers of the 10,000-ton type, and eventually specially designed vessels would be evolved, the considerations governing their design being different from the requirements of "private" navies. From a nucleus much may grow, and it is only by the gradual evolution of an effective international naval police force that the necessity for national

naval police forces may as gradually disappear. All depends on attitude of mind and seeing clearly, and when the nations decide to institute their international naval force matters of finance and language can be very easily settled.

A navy is the one form of force which has special international facilities, but the present moment is not opportune to expatiate upon what an international navy might achieve, the point is that a start should be made and actual ships internationally manned, each ship's complement being heterogeneous, should be brought into commission under the ultimate authority of the Council of the League of Nations.

I may say that, owing to many years' service in the Royal Navy, I am not unacquainted with international naval gatherings, sometimes and most often each watching the other, occasionally and very rarely a big majority all of one mind, as, for instance, the occasion of the expedition formed from the warships of eight different nations, in which naval expedition I was present at a very early age.—

Yours, &c.,

T. R. FFORDE,

Captain, Royal Navy (retired).

Chelsea.

THE SHANGHAIED SUIT-CASE

IT had vanished in the twinkling of an eye. Only a moment before, I had brushed against it as I walked down the gangway from the deck of the tender to the Customs Jetty, with my two smaller bits of luggage in my hands. I dumped these, turned on my heel, walked up the gangway again, and—hi presto!—the indispensable suit-case had ceased to be there. This was Chinese conjuring with a vengeance. A few weeks earlier, at Peking, for our entertainment after dinner, a benevolent Chinese magician had produced an immense bath-tub full of water out of his not very voluminous skirts, and had also caused coins to disappear from under flower-pots, standing upside down on the floor, and mice and frogs to take their place. That had been great fun; and I reflected bitterly that, when I had sung the praises of Peking and confessed my disinclination to visit Shanghai, all the practical Nordic men had admonished me: "At Shanghai we work, at Peking they play!" And here was the first demonstration of the truth of that dictum (for Nordic Man is always right: that is perhaps the most exasperating of his many exasperating qualities). Yes, at Peking they do conjuring tricks for the sake of amusing you; at Shanghai they do them for the strictly business purpose of adding to their goods and chattels at your expense.

It was an appalling predicament, for that was just the one piece of luggage which I could not possibly afford to lose. I had packed into it all my evening clothes, and this was the eve of Christmas Eve—the verge of a season of special festivity; and I had packed into it all my warm winter clothes, and next month I was due to travel home to England across Siberia—the passage was booked, the money paid, the date too near for cancellation. Taking thought, to my undoing, for the morrow, I had performed all this repacking only an hour before, while our boat was steaming up the Whangpoo River. So to-morrow, I had calculated, I can ship my cabin-trunk straight home to England and keep only just what is necessary for the last month of my six months' travels. And now "just what was necessary" had vanished, in that conjured suit-case, into thin air; and I had little doubt that by this time it was being sifted and disposed of in some den of thieves. What use was it now that my cabin-trunk duly emerged, safe and sound, from the tender's inmost parts? Large though it looked, it contained nothing that was any longer of value to me. My mind ran rapidly over its contents: a solar topee, two tussore tropical suits, three Chinese pic-

tures on rollers, two silk coats for my wife, a miniature cross-bow (even so a lethal weapon) for my youngest son—I broke off the catalogue in despair; for in Siberia, a few weeks hence, what would any of this "junk" avail me against the rigours of an Arctic mid-winter? And as for the two smaller packages—well, I could hardly clothe myself in the books and papers with which the attaché-case was bulging. They were about as comforting to me now as Midas's breakfast was to Midas after he had acquired "the golden touch" (even in my distress, I remembered my Hawthorne). And the wicker-basket—why, hadn't I bought that in Peking simply for carrying that little folding-mirror-cum-chest-of-drawers which I had picked up in the Lung-fu-sze market? But here one solitary ray of comfort illumined my almost despairing mind; for I remembered that the basket had an arched top, and that into the space between this top and the lid of the little piece of furniture inside I had thrust my sponge-bag. Well, anyway, I should not have to display myself to Shanghai next morning unshaven. And for every male human being a clean shave is the sheet-anchor of his *moral*. . . .

Collecting my wits—for the recollections and calculations which I have just set out had gone through my mind like lightning—I rushed up to the jetty-head, where my fellow-passengers' effects were already being loaded into rickshaws and taxis and hotel lorries. Perhaps some officious coolie or hotel porter had run off with my suit-case under the erroneous impression that it belonged to one of his clients. There was still this hope—but no, the porters were polite and sympathetic enough, but my suit-case was not in any of those piles. The thief had made a pretty quick "get away." The last doubt about my conjurer being a professional ebbed away gloomily from my mind. Still, one must die fighting; so I hired a taxi and made the round of the principal hotels. If any newly registered guests, just come ashore off the s.s. "Chop-Sticks," were to find that they had arrived with just one suit-case too much, would the hotel management be kind enough to let me know? But, even while I was still engaged on this rather ludicrous errand, I knew in my bones that it was labour lost. Patently this was a case, not of inadvertence, but of crime. And so thought the C.I.D. of the Municipal Police of the International Settlement when I reported my grievous loss to them later on in the evening—my last effort before retiring, in the clothes I stood in, to a bed of care.

Next morning, I got busy again *de bonne heure*. The situation was grave, for Christmas Eve had now dawned; probably every shop in Shanghai would be shut to-morrow and the day after; and the day after that I was due to pay a visit to Nanking. And in the new capital of the Chinese Republic I was to be introduced, under distinguished auspices, to some distinguished people; evening clothes would probably be *de rigueur*; and I had been warned, by the way, that Nanking was nearly as cold as Siberia and twice as nasty, because its cold was of the damp variety. "Be sure to bring all your warmest things," they had said. So this time, obtaining an introduction from a good friend in need, I penetrated to the office of one of the most exalted personages in the municipal police force, and the exalted personage heard my case in person from my own lips. Generously he gave me of his time, wisely he commented on the situation; but all that he told me only served to convince me that my chance of recovering the indispensable suit-case was even slighter than I had suspected. His comments amounted to a disquisition on the whole Shanghai problem. I learnt that my property, at the moment it had disappeared from the deck of the tender, had lain within the domain of the River Police, who were under

the jurisdiction, not of the Municipal Council of the International Settlement, but of the Harbour Board—an entirely independent authority. When the thief, miraculously invisible to my eyes, had stepped from the gangway on to the jetty, bearing his priceless burden, then indeed he had trespassed upon my mentor's territory; but no doubt, this exalted personage quickly explained, he had promptly made a bee-line for the Chinese city, and when once stolen property had found a haven there, well—he ended on an eloquent aposiopesis. A sadder and a wiser man (wiser, that is, in my knowledge of Shanghai administration and politics) I emerged from the International Settlement Municipal Buildings and made for the offices of the shipping company, which were situated, far off, on the French Bund. The representatives of the Company were even kinder and more sympathetic than anyone had been yet (and that is saying a great deal); but here too I drew a blank. No, none of my fellow-passengers of the day before had delivered, or even reported, to the Company a suit-case, not their own, which had been annexed by them inadvertently. I called again in the afternoon and drew a blank once more.

Meanwhile, it transpired that my friend in need was actually staying in the house of the shipping company's senior representative in Shanghai. He took me to the house and, like a good Samaritan, provisionally supplied my most pressing needs out of his own wardrobe. "There," he said benignantly, "now you needn't worry about buying yourself a new outfit until you come back from Nanking; and if the suit-case hasn't turned up by then, you may certainly take it that it has gone for good." I blessed him for his charity and bless him still, even now when the tyranny of my misfortune is overpast—but I am in danger of anticipating the grand finale of my story. "My host, Mr. Grey," continued my friend, not wearying of well doing, "has invited you to dinner here this evening, and of course he says that, in the circumstances, you are to come just as you are." Indeed, otherwise I must have declined the invitation, and then my cup of bitterness would have brimmed over.

When I was shown into Mr. Grey's drawing-room (to find myself the only person in the company without a wedding-garment), he at once consoled with me upon my loss. "I am distressed, indeed," he said, "that this accident should have happened on board our company's tender. It is a quite exceptional case. It is all due to those disbanded soldiers who came ashore on the tender after commandeering a free passage from Tientsin. No doubt the company's servants were so agitated by having to deal with them that they omitted to look after the passengers' luggage with their usual zeal." As a matter of fact, I had noticed no disbanded soldiers on board on that fatal evening; but then perhaps I should not have been likely to recognize them in mufti. So I accepted my host's suggestion and was on the point of writing off my loss as one infinitesimal item in the vast destruction wrought by the chaos of the Chinese Revolution, when the drawing-room door opened and another guest was announced by the boy: "Exzellenz Brock, of the Ruritanian Legation at Peking." Brock? Why, this was one of my fellow-travellers on the "Chop-Sticks," and one, moreover, to whose notice I had been unable to bring my loss, because he had not put up at any of the big hotels. Probably he was the guest of the Ruritanian Consulate. Was it possible . . . ? But no—that is the kind of flimsy straw that drowning men cling to. No, you will never see your suit-case again, my lad. Play the man and face realities. As I was bracing myself inwardly in this manful way, Exzellenz Brock's eyes encountered mine, and then

the incredible happened. A faint blush suffused his countenance. "Why, Mr. Toynbee," he said; "about your suit-case . . . I am so sorry. . . ."

Three mornings later I read in the NORTH CHINA DAILY NEWS that Exzellenz Brock had received a high honour from the Ruritanian Government. Was it for his expertise in "conveying" my suit-case? Or was it for his rectitude in making confession when confronted with the lawful owner? The solution of this historical problem will remain a mystery until the Ruritanian Archives for the year 1929 (bundle marked "China—confidential") are opened; and, of course, they will not be opened until at least half-a-century hence. But I commend the transaction to the notice of some professor of international history yet unborn. He can assign it to his most promising research-student as the subject for a thesis which will infallibly be rewarded with a Ph.D. There is one thing, however, which I know here and now. The Ruritanian Secret Service in China is efficient beyond belief. Within a few hours of Exzellenz Brock's exploit (whichever of the two feats it was), they must have informed the home Government what a good and faithful servant of the State Exzellenz Brock had shown himself to be. And how promptly the Government acted! Within seventy-two hours of his confession the honour conferred on him at home was already being announced in the Press of Shanghai. Ruritania will go far!

ARNOLD J. TOYNEE.

EASTER

Now once more Spring softens the brightening air
And all the parks are gay with crocus flowers,
Easter has come in this last week of March,
The resurrected corn shoots upward in the dark,
And my thoughts fly to you across the sea.

I think of how you sat one Autumn night
Bare shoulders beautifully rounded, full—
A snowy bank of cloud whereon the Moon
Of old desire blood-heavy hung and day's
Deserts of light collected in one pool:

With face uplifted from a departing dream
I looked on you; so shipwrecked men must look
Upon the dawn after a night of storm,
Thunder reverberating through that calm
And lightning's ragged darkness in their eyes.

And though the dawn like you is beautiful,
So lovely that the ways of Paradise
Take shape and fly—fair and seraphic forms
Charming the souls of weary mariners—
Yet are not they those sirens fabulous?

Enchanted men who hear these ghosts of joy
And think ineffable spirits of ecstasy
Do waft around, wax up your human ears,
Bandage your eyes, and if the soul can find
Delight in silent darkness fear no spell!

But such a harbouring sailor am not I.
I was foredoomed to wreck against the stars;
Upon a bank of moonlight in the dark
My body'll lie and all that was my eyes
Brighten the foam on phosphorescent isles:

But then, ah then in starry solitude,
Like a full moon my dream of you shall rise
And fill the night with white oblivion—
Delirium strange upon the springtime seas
New Easter-golden of the dark blood's love!

W. J. TURNER.

PLAYS AND PICTURES

"Journey's End," at the Tivoli.

THE filming of "Journey's End" is mechanically and artistically of the highest order. Mr. Sherriff has had in this matter what he deserves, but what has been so often missing in transferences of literature into cinematography, the best of luck. Old soldiers, with that terrifying memory of Western Front details which will only die with them, may find themselves looking for things which are not there; but they will come away with the conviction that this film will combat war, in the hearts of the millions who will see it, with overwhelming force. The effect of nightmare is obtained in every glimpse of grey and smoking battlefield that varies the interplay of those doomed beings in the dug-out; and the noises of arriving shells are so recalled as to leave no romantic question of "sporting chance" in the listener's mind, where he sits unheroically in a warm theatre. The acting is all admirable; one should scarcely call it acting, for the men concerned are before us with the urgency of men really in the front line; they do not pretend, they become, they live there. If the landscape of war outside is a bad dream, compared with which the dug-out is a home, yet ultimately the madness of war is pictured just as much from the simple actions and reactions that happen in the dug-out. The whole work, in this fresh version, entirely apt for the new age, reveals the monstrosity of exacting from imperfect human nature the isolated superhumanity of the infantryman in 1918.

"The House that Jack Built," Winter Garden Theatre.

The House that Jack has (re-)Built at the Winter Garden Theatre is well constructed of good materials, and should remain wind- and weather-proof for many a month to come. Jack Hulbert himself works very hard, and is very versatile, and always energetic and bright. Miss Cicely Courtneidge has a most pleasing and individual talent for broad comedy, and she takes every opportunity that a part in a sketch offers, and then makes more opportunities. She could have coped satisfactorily with even better material than some of the sketches provided, but sketches like "And the Next" and "The Dowager Fairy Queen" are well suited to her delightful manner. The production includes the "Reunion and Reappearance of Norah Blaney and Gwen Farrar"—a happy event. They are singing as well as ever, and their topical allusions in "It ain't goin' to rain no mo'" are fresh and deft. Apart from their turn music is perhaps the weakest joist in the floor of the show, though Jack Hulbert and Cicely Courtneidge put plenty of "pep" into their numbers. On the whole, it is a House one should visit, and revisit.

"De La Folie Pure," Victoria Palace.

The revue "De La Folie Pure" comes, we are told, from the Folies Bergere in Paris. It has, of course, been adapted, and one is not in the position to say whether the adaptation has been slight or severe. The verbal wit of some French comedian—the kind of wit which so often exceeds and escapes one's French scholarship at the critical moment—has no doubt gone, and in its place we have the broad English humour of Mr. Charles Austin. In this English version Mr. Austin, a man of high spirit but humble circumstance, wins "a football competition" and decides to proceed with a somewhat bleak wife and a precocious son to Paris. Such an adventure presents rich opportunities for humorous treatment. The party will show up conspicuously and unfavourably among the travelled and experienced people at Victoria; they may be expected to be actively unwell on the sea-passage, and in Paris itself there will begin that rapid broadening of the mind to which the wife will not respond but for which the husband is only too ready. We can hardly flatter ourselves that a visit to London would open up vistas of this kind to a Parisian audience, and this part of "De La Folie Pure" is probably new. On the other hand, the true Continental flavour is lent to the affair by the presence of a whole battalion of the Tiller Girls. These are the young women who keep

us in countenance when we stray into foreign music-halls. They are an export for which we are justly famed, and it is very pleasant to have to travel no further than to the Victoria Palace and to see again their extravagant technique and sober temperament—those flashing limbs surmounted by the sensible insular faces in which one can still see the marks of a Sunday School and read a steady regard for "Mother and Dad," somewhere in Lancashire and Yorkshire. For the rest, "De La Folie Pure" is notable chiefly for the charm and versatility of the dancer Marika Röck. It will be a reflection on our times if Marika Röck does not make some inroad on our peace of mind. Young women with not half her beauty and ability have in Victorian times made themselves the rage of the town. But those were more susceptible times—and how on earth should we pronounce her name?

British Empire Academy: New Burlington Galleries.

The second exhibition of the British Empire Academy, which has recently opened at the New Burlington Galleries, Burlington Gardens, consists largely of works from the Colonies, since, owing to lack of space, the British exhibits have to be shown in two sections (April 16th to May 7th and May 7th to May 30th), whereas the Colonial works remain hung during the whole of the period, in the larger room. The British Empire Academy is a society with a mission: its very laudable aim is to "promote, aid, and unite all the Arts throughout the Empire," and accordingly there are exhibits from Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, and India, as well as from the British Isles. It would be a pity if anyone should consider this exhibition to be really representative of art in the British Empire: England, at any rate, can do a good deal better. The exhibition, on the whole, suggests the work of an Academy-trained, but rather incompetent student. Subject is of supreme importance, and the Colonial section resembles, more than anything, an illustrated tour of the Empire, depicting the life and habits, the flora and fauna of the various countries represented.

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Things to see and hear in the coming week:—

Saturday, April 26th.—

"Volpone," at the Festival Theatre, Cambridge, 8.30.

Sunday, April 27th.—

Mr. J. A. Hobson, on "Sixty Years of Changing England," South Place, 11.

"Brain," by Mr. Lionel Britton, at the Savoy.

"Magda," at the Arts Theatre.

Monday, April 28th.—

Season of International Opera opens at Covent Garden with "Die Meistersinger," 7.

"His Excellency the Governor," by Captain Robert Marshall, at the Kingsway.

Count Harry Kessler, on "The Younger Generation in Germany," the Wireless, 9.25.

Tuesday, April 29th.—

"The Mulberry Bush," by Mr. Edward Knoblock, at the Criterion.

The Earl of Cottenham, on the new Motor Laws, the Wireless, 7.

Mr. Frank Owen, on "Why I voted against War Credits," Friends House, 1.20.

Dr. Marie Stopes, on "Ideals and Practice of Constructive Birth Control," Guild Hall, Cambridge, 8.

Wednesday, April 30th.—

"Jitta's Atonement," translated from Frau Gitta's "Sühne" by Siegfried Trebitsch, and adapted by Mr. Bernard Shaw, at the Arts.

Elsbeth Douglas-Reid, Dramatic Recital, Æolian Hall, 8.

Thursday, May 1st.—

Musical Comedy, "Heads Up!" at the Palace Theatre.

Friday, May 2nd.—

Professor Julian Huxley, on "The Pleasure of Bird Watching," the Wireless, 7.25.

Mercia Stotesbury, Violin Recital, Wigmore Hall, 8.30.

OMICRON.

THE WORLD OF BOOKS

MILTON AND THE NEW CONSCIOUSNESS

THE present time appears not to be that in which the qualities of Milton attain wide or impassioned appreciation in England. Of his poetry, we are capable of enjoying rather fragments than entireties, nor are voices wanting to declare that he is not the essential stylist of his generation. Of his prose, to speak broadly, little is read in its proper relation; and you may hear his social protests and arguments repeated without any hint that almost three hundred years ago Milton advanced them in his intenser language. Mr. E. M. W. Tillyard, who surveys Milton and his inner career in an extensive but exact book (*Chatto and Windus, 15s.*), alludes to the condition of Milton's reputation, and to the fact that some critics of the day find him distant and ineffectual. There is something in their notion. He is not often a refiner of moods, a Dutch painter of ambiguities.

But is our future taste to be always for the nervous subtlety and the microcosm? Is there no hope for the epic style, for the panorama, for the rich and bowering luxury of a master's eloquence? It may be through Milton's prose that the doubter can be led anew to this extraordinary and vivid man. Mr. Tillyard is eager to bring the prose back to our minds. "There is a bloom on the prose diction that is somehow absent from all Milton's verse except perhaps the 'Nativity Ode,' a bloom he deliberately sacrificed to the sterner qualities of power and concentration." It is not only the vocabulary that animates the prose. "The richness of the Elizabethans," as Mr. Tillyard says, is there; the picture of a lively world, Milton at the breakfast-table or in the street, the observation of a novelist trained to the service of the rights of man. In his pamphlets, Milton takes many parts, and rises to his ideal world from that of any man—an excellent thing in an idealist, to show us first how well he works in the common factory of life. "They that love the Soules of Men, which is the dearest love," will be hard put to it to rival Milton's everyday experience, which is active without disguise in his prose.

Mr. Tillyard has one regret, nevertheless, as he quotes a specimen of the Miltonic realism: "Why was it that Milton behaved so discourteously in controversial writing? . . . Evidence of Milton's good manners in society could be multiplied. But the puzzle is: how can they be squared with his deplorable methods of controversy?" And Mr. Tillyard supplies an explanation: "The true answer is that in controversy Milton was really quite impersonal." Milton might have answered with Kent, "Anger hath a privilege." But the matter is tinged with something a little more mysterious. From the very earliest period Milton appears to have been conscious of himself as a man apart, having "Gifts of Gods imparting, which I boast not, but thankfully acknowledge." He did not think of those who obstructed the dayspring as persons, but as obstructions. He was to sweep them away with a flaming sword. The "rudeness" of this did not occur to him. Vengeance cannot be called rude. He was also indignant at the stupidity which required his intervention at all; he had other missions to fulfil, of a grander order. Naming these, he says, "I trust hereby to make it manifest with what small willingness I endure to interrupt the pursuit of no less hopes than these, and leave a calm and pleasing Solifarines, fed with cheerful and confident thoughts, to imbark in a troubl'd Sea of noises and hoars Disputes, from

beholding the bright countenance of Truth, in the quiet and still Air of delightful Studies, to come into the dim reflection of hollow Antiquities sold by the seeming bulk, and there be fain to club quotations with men whose learning and belief lies in marginal stuffings; who, when they have, like good sumpters, laid ye down their hors-load of Citations and Fathers at your door, with a Rapsody of who and who were Bishops here or there, ye may take off their Packsaddles, their days work is don, and Episcopacy, as they think, stoutly vindicated."

Even in "Lycidas," ostensibly a lament for Edward King, the figure of Milton destined to justify God's ways is prominent. "Fundamentally," Mr. Tillyard observes, "'Lycidas' concerns Milton himself; King is but the excuse for one of Milton's most personal poems." The critic goes on to interpret the drowning as an apprehension of what might happen to Milton on his journey to Italy (and Greece), and what that would mean to all his projected campaign for liberty. This is excellent discernment, and Mr. Tillyard does not, in illuminating the foundations of the piece, overcast the poetical triumph. He remembers that the life of a poem is in its record of a clearness of emotion achieved, granted, encountered—the poets themselves cannot declare quite why or whence that light was with them. It is light, it is melody,—

"almost
It seems the man has died in sleep
And is a blessed ghost."

The immense artistic scenery of Milton may demand of us an imaginative attitude which our civilization and individual make and crisis may not readily permit; we are creatures of the minute, seagulls dashing ourselves at the sudden flash from the lighthouse. But, even if all the gorgeous pall of Milton's verse-work passes us by, surely there is in him, almost as often as in any poet of all the world's good fortune, a charm. The gates fly open, and disclose this paradise, neither lost nor regained, only to be entered "in a season of calm weather," in a mood that is not unknown to us still. It may be, on the first glance, a place or state of some melancholy:—

"Haunted spring, and dale,
Edg'd with poplar pale."

Its operancy is not melancholy; however the music varies, it is constant in that "pretious influence." In this way, thrilling without excitement, the "Paradise Regain'd" (upon which Mr. Tillyard writes copiously and valuably) seems to me to be Milton's masterpiece. The air in which the action passes is magically lucid, though beyond it lies the "Desart, dusk with horrid shades"—indeed, Mr. Tillyard explains the poem's fascination in "this contrast between brown shades and brilliant light." Persons, and things in this sphere are exquisite, as fairies in moonbeams. To put it more prosaically, the vision is stronger, the medium sweeter. The Doric delicacy has reached its highest point. The continuous "fluence" (to borrow a word from Milton's prose) asks no aid of us; the thunders are past, and the radiance of early day is distinguishing all the forms of grace and honour, an immeasurable crystal-gleaming landscape, until in absolute tranquillity the words cease:—

"Thus they the Son of God our Saviour meek
Sung Victor, and from Heav'nly Feast refresht
Brought on his way with joy; he unobserv'd
Home to his Mother's house private return'd."

EDMUND BLUNDEN.

REVIEWS

STRESEMANN

Stresemann. By RUDOLF OLDEN. Translated by R. T. CLERK. (Methuen. 10s. 6d.)

WHEN Admiral von Tirpitz determined to invite the Reichstag and the Empire to grant the millions necessary for building a great fleet, his preliminary investigations of the task ahead had convinced him that it was to the middle classes that he must look for support. He was persuaded that the conservative gentry were so saturated in a Continental tradition that they would never assist him. Gustav Stresemann was a single individual amongst the millions who rallied to the admiral's appeal; but the motives which influenced him must have been very representative of the motives of his class. His father was a beer-shop proprietor in rather a small way of business, and that business was completely ruined by the growth of the great brewing industries. But the circumstances which had ruined his father gave the young man his opportunities. He went into business boldly and soon worked his way up. He regretted that pressure of circumstances had ruined many small, independent trades, and wrote an economic essay on the subject; but he realized that the new order of things gave his own generation exceptional chances, and that their sons and grandsons might be the nucleus of a caste as powerful and influential as the old nobility and gentry. But it was axiomatic to Stresemann, and to those whose political opinions were similar to his own, that Germany should be great and strong. The growth of Germany's export trades, the development of her industries, were, to him, all contingent upon the Empire's military power and political status. Opinions such as these are more the product of emotion than of reason; and during most of his career Stresemann was an emotional politician. He was enough of an orator and an organizer to become leader of a Reichstag party; but he never had enough critical faculty to grasp the weakness of Germany's military position during the war. He believed the rodomontade of the generals and admirals; he failed to appreciate Bethmann-Hollweg's doubts upon submarine war; and when Erzberger dissected the statements made by the naval staff, and showed their inconsistency and folly, Stresemann failed to realize the extent of the exposure. It was only at a comparatively late period of his career that Stresemann abandoned his early beliefs and opinions, and became one of those statesmen who regard the business of government as a matter to be dealt with by sense and reason. From then onwards nothing but an intense and noble patriotism remained of the orator who had once come near to believing that the General Staff was a divinely inspired body.

The task before the statesman in whom the old Adam was thus dead was so heavy that it seems extraordinary that he should ever have accomplished it. The Germany he represented seemed like a society in dissolution; the enmity of her great neighbour France seemed quite implacable. And the man had none of those talents which had enabled Talleyrand to influence the councils of Europe a century before. His appearance, never prepossessing, had been made repulsive by kidney trouble; his manner of speech was oratorical rather than conversational, his voice was harsh and grating, his laughter strident and unpleasing. Yet the statesmen of Europe did, in the end, treat him as a colleague, not as a mere petitioner, and from that moment Germany may be said to have recovered her position in the world. It would be impossible to exaggerate the honesty and strength of character which made such an achievement possible.

Herr Olden has very carefully described the sequence of events which influenced Stresemann's career, or which Stresemann himself influenced; and he gives proper emphasis to the great change in Stresemann's political opinions. Herr Olden cannot, therefore, be charged with lack of conscientiousness. Nevertheless, his continuous philosophical commentary upon facts which explain themselves makes the narrative somewhat confusing, and if this book fell into the hands of a reader who had studied no other sources of information, it may be doubted whether he would grasp the full significance of Stresemann's career or appreciate the greatness of the man's character.

A. C. BELL.

DUSE

The Life of Eleonora Duse. By E. A. RHEINHARDT. (Secker. 16s.)

HERR RHEINHARDT has drawn on a great many sources for his "Life of Eleonora Duse," and he was encouraged to write it by Duse's trusted friend, Olga Resnevic Signorelli, who put her stock of memories of the famous actress entirely at his disposal. He has produced a book which in spite of faults draws a fine portrait of a fine character. Duse's pitiful childhood, her triumph by sheer will-power over illness and early failures, her utter lack of resentment for injuries and injustices all contribute to a story which any biographer can hardly fail to make poignant and absorbing.

The narrative of Duse's life is kept moving successfully, and a good sense of proportion is maintained in the study of herself, her friends, and her acting, but in his analysis of motives the author does not always succeed in convincing us. He is rather too easily satisfied with the solution of a problem, and if we are convinced that the central figure in the book was the greatest actress of her time, we cannot feel so sure at the end that it is the real Duse we have been reading about, or that these reasons (so clearly and succinctly stated as to sound almost trite sometimes) are the real reasons why she was so great. For instance:—

"Acting was rooted in her nature, it was the creative expression of an inner discord which might have become pathological but for her gifts; a projection of that split in the personality which can give rise to the fabrications of hysteria or the illusory voices and dramatic hallucinations of paranoia. In her acting she was always striving to find a solution; a solution for her own problems, and a solution for the problems of others."

All that is very true, but it applies to Duse neither more nor less than to hundreds of others, and it does not explain her unique gifts. Explanation may not be necessary, but this is not the only case in which Herr Rheinhardt attempts it, and the other attempts are not more convincing.

There are parts of the book, however, from which a real living character emerges, and one in which the author forces us to believe whether we like it or not, and in spite of what we may have thought before reading him. The Duse-Bernhardt affair is dealt with sympathetically but justly, while d'Annunzio, as against the usual fervid allegations of scurrility and blackguardly conduct in general to Duse, particularly by publishing all their most intimate relationships in "Il Fuoco," is more or less whitewashed: but then Duse herself whitewashed him. It was a part of her nature rather than any belief for itself which made her tolerant of those who made her suffer. She always had suffered and she always would: she blamed nobody. She wrote to the Marchese d'Arcais: "I must work. I must find relief from my inner longing. My love for art is too great, and so is my jealousy of it, for I desire it should be mine, mine in feeling, in spirit, in expression, and in scope. Woe to me if it were not so! Then I should be able easily to indulge my hopes, but my inner satisfaction would soon be over. Then I should feel no longer this dissatisfaction which does me good, this desire which torments me. . . ."

Herr Rheinhardt points out that though she could say "everybody else may distrust women: I understand them perfectly," she would have nothing to do with the emancipated woman. "She knew what the world of men was, and she loved it. And she knew that 'God created mankind, not men and women.'" Further, she believed passionately in the truth of the philosopher's words: "The tremendous expectation in regard to sexual love and the shame in that expectation distorts all perspectives for women beforehand."

There are no important aspects of Duse's life and art which the author leaves undiscussed, and his frequent quotations from various sources are all to the point: indeed, they are often more illuminating than his own analysis. Bernard Shaw's comparison of the acting of Duse and Bernhardt, for instance, is quoted at length and throws much light, though it never mentions the occasion, on the meeting in Paris of the two great actresses.

Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the book is the way in which the author has tempered his obvious enthusiasm and kept it within bounds, so that a reader never yawns, nor is he faced with pages of ecstatic praise.

HOMAGE TO SCHOLARSHIP AND INTELLECT

The Year's Work in English Studies. Vol. IX.—1928. Edited by F. S. BOAS and C. H. HERFORD. (Oxford University Press; Humphrey Milford. 10s. 6d.)

Proceedings of the British Academy. Vol. XIII.—1927. (Oxford University Press; Humphrey Milford. 30s.)

ALL writers are fishers of men. Blind Homer is the first we name, and a thousand more are at this moment weaving the net which he began. For literature—if one may venture on one of those allegorical visions which made that prince of weekly journalists, smug Addison, the philosopher of the tea-table—literature is the net which sweeps and sounds the ocean of human existence. Few slip or nibble through its meshes. A single haul will gather up beings even more various than are the skate, the jelly fish, *le loup* and the sea-urchin. It will include the Eton boy yawning over his holiday task, the undergraduate imitating "The Waste Land," the provincial actor as the Prince of Denmark, the cottager with her Bible, the advertiser who recommends by apt quotation his toothpaste or tobacco, the statesman with a tag of Horace on the tip of his tongue, the listener on the Yorkshire wolds, the professor, Mr. Bernard Shaw, and the Poet Laureate. Is not such a vision more terrible and more mysterious than the crowds at Burlington House or Vaughan's vision of the world and eternity?

These reflections arise from the perusal of the work of the year 1928 in English Studies. Yet here the catch is only of one kind, *homo doctissimus*; as it might be, of the herring fleet fishing in a single sea. The captains of the vessel, Dr. F. S. Boas and Professor Herford report a record of 443 books and 423 articles. All are marvellously indexed by Miss E. L. Smart, and they vary through the Collected Papers of Henry Bradley, an article on "Unfractured Forms in Thirteenth-Century Essex Place-Names," and an introduction by Virginia Woolf to a cheap edition of the "Sentimental Journey." These volumes which the English Association bring out every year are essential for the scholar; the volume for the year 1928, a year which marks in literature the tercentenary of Bunyan and the death of Thomas Hardy, brings once more to the notice of the common reader some important editions, such as the Travel Diaries of William Beckford and the Letters of Dorothy Osborne, some sumptuous reprints, the Fanfrolico Press Beddoes and the Faber and Gwyer Sir Thomas Browne, some light and lively biographies, Jane Carlyle by Elizabeth Drew, Rossetti by Evelyn Waugh, Matthew Arnold by Hugh Kingsmill, L. E. L. by D. E. Enfield, and in criticism, Herbert Read's valiant assault on prose style, "For Lancelot Andrewes" (which upset all those who found in T. S. Eliot the impartial critic, but which by now his disciples have digested), and Ker's notes on "Form and Style in Poetry." To this list may be added "Keats's Shakespeare," by Miss Spurgeon, Professor Gordon's fascinating pamphlet on Shakespeare's English, "Shakespeare—Truth and Tradition," by J. S. Smart, and G. B. Harrison's "Elizabethan Journal." We can only name a few of the books here recorded which we most covet.

Besides her literary men, England still boasts her men of letters, in the best and widest sense. Most eminent among them are the members of the British Academy whose intellectual powers have made them great in science, philosophy, or affairs of State, at the university or at the bar. The lectures on the Academy Foundations during the session 1926-7 have been collected in a fine volume. The two most notable contributions are by Dr. Broad; the Annual Lecture on a Master Mind and an obituary notice of Dr. McTaggart, the lucid and conscientious expositor of the incoherent and inspired philosophy of Hegel, or as Dr. Broad describes him "its devoted and extremely astute family solicitor." The Lecture, which shares with the more personal notice, the qualities of humour, precision, and illumination, deals with the man, *qui genus humanum ingenio superavit*, whose statue by Roubiliac stands in the ante-chapel of Trinity, who as a schoolboy constructed a model windmill worked by a mouse and, as an undergraduate, although rusticating on account of the Great Plague, discovered the Method of Fluxions and formed the first notions of his theory of universal gravitation. Dr. Broad follows up a concise sketch of Newton's life with an account of his optical discoveries,

and of those concerned with Dynamics, Fluxions, and Gravitation. This is admirably done: philosophers and scientists to-day are not too proud to make their subject and their labours dimly intelligible to their feebler-minded brethren.

In the Italian Lecture Mr. Bickersteth, starting from that contrast which Arnold drew between Wordsworth and Leopardi, unfavourable to the latter, shows that the two are better compared than contrasted, in their three functions as political poets, nature poets, and poetical theorists. And he provides material and ideas for the discussion of that fundamental question, raised by Goethe's disciple, Arnold, in the preface to the poems of '53, namely, why is a great work of literature never depressing. There are two other literary lectures. In one, Professor Thorndyke outlines the history of Shakespeare in America. Shakespeare is with Washington and Lincoln as one of the gods of American idolatry. He is the most unifying element in the growth of their culture, what the classics were in the English public schools of yesterday, what Homer was to Athens and the Ethics of Aristotle to Oxford. In short, after reading Professor Thorndyke's lecture, one feels (as after seeing a German production of "King Lear") how little we deserve and are grateful for our good fortune. Shakespeare reached America in Rowe's edition of 1709, and was in Harvard University Library in 1723. Yale had to wait until Bishop Berkeley gave them a copy. "Richard III." was performed in New York in 1750, and two years later a touring company came out from England with a repertory which included "Lear" and "Cymbeline." They played "Othello" before the Emperor of the Cherokee Indians. The year 1795 saw the first American edition, and by 1833 there was a floating theatre, first of the "show-boats," on the waters of the Ohio. The Professor concludes his interesting and enthusiastic account with the belief that "the American temper has a close kinship with the Elizabethan joy in experience, the venturesomeness in deeds and the heedlessness of dogma." We are inclined to agree that Shakespeare's London was more akin to Chicago than it is to the London of to-day.

BE

UP-TO-DATE—

SHELLUBRICATE

In the Warton Lecture, Mr. Moore Smith brings to light and life the enchanting figure of a seventeenth-century poet and Cambridge don. Thomas Randolph divided his devotion between the schoolmen and the muses, a disciple of Aristotle and a son of Ben, "the most ingenious Heliconian of his age"; author of eclogues and elegies, comedy and pastoral. Despite his admiration for Felltham's "Resolves," his wit and popularity led him into the primrose paths of dissipation, and before he was thirty he was dead. His poem on "Time" bids fair to rival Milton's "Lines on a Clock-Case," if not Marvell's "Coy Mistress," and "Aristippus"; Dr. Greg recommended Randolph's "Amyntas," in his book on English Pastoral some time ago. Theban Cambridge, to which few poets have taken kindly, and the severe scholarship of Trinity have never since been gladdened by one who wore his learning so lightly, a precocious genius with such sweetness and such wit.

In these sad times, when education by *γυμναστική* has supplanted education by *μουσική*, when the famous club which numbered Johnson, Reynolds, Gibbon, and Burke among its members represents the golden age of intellectual society, we do grateful homage to the British Academy and the English Association.

GEORGE RYLANDS.

WOMEN WORKERS

Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850. By IVY PINCHBECK. (Routledge. 15s.)

THIS book reflects great credit upon its author, upon the London School of Economics, and upon the now long line of English economic and industrial historians whose pedigree owes so much to Mr. and Mrs. Webb. Miss Pinchbeck takes her place at once as one of the most industrious and intelligent researchers in the school of history to which she belongs. "Research" is the method and facts the quarry of her school. It would be impossible to find a more persistent or successful hunter of facts than she is, or a book of three hundred pages which contains a larger number of facts than the one she now gives us. Industriousness can do no more; her intelligence is shown in the selection and arrangement of her facts. Such books do not make light or very agreeable reading; they are intended for the expert and the intensive rather than the general reader, and for them they are, when as good as Miss Pinchbeck's, invaluable.

Miss Pinchbeck's book is a study of the extent and conditions of women's employment between the dates which appear in her title. It covers, therefore, the period of the industrial revolution. It is limited to the work of women in agriculture, industry, and trade, but Miss Pinchbeck has still further narrowed her field by excluding all those branches of industry and trade which were not definitely affected by the reorganization of the industrial system. Hence domestic service, dressmaking, and the oldest of women's trades are omitted. Two-thirds of the book are devoted to agriculture and the textile industries, and of the remaining one hundred pages forty are occupied by the mines and metal trades. Miss Pinchbeck's method is to give facts showing the extent of women's employment in the different branches of trade before and after the revolution, the conditions under which they worked, and the wages that they earned. The immense range of her reading is indicated in the bibliography, and the body of her book shows that in her case the bibliography is not, as it is with some researchers, mere window-dressing. She has gone for her facts to every kind of contemporary record, from the official paper to the novel and the popular rhyme.

Perhaps the most interesting and valuable part of her book is that which deals with agriculture. It is true, as she says, that there has hitherto been no separate, detailed study of women's work during the industrial revolution, but some branches of industry, such as the textile and mines, have been so carefully studied that the conditions of women's employment in them are fairly well known. This is, however, not true of agriculture, and Miss Pinchbeck's researches into the conditions of agricultural employment

throw new light on this branch of industrial history. Her first chapter, a study of the work of women in agriculture before the agrarian revolution, is one of the most interesting in the book. Women's work was immensely important under what may be called the domestic system, for the whole of the dairy and dairying was under the management of the farmer's wife and her female staff. One thing which strikes one with amazement whenever one reads a book about the details of people's lives before the French Revolution is the complete indifference to human happiness. The idea that happiness is universally important hardly existed before the nineteenth century. The life of a dairymaid, for instance, was usually one of unrelenting labour. She began to milk the cows at 3 or 4 a.m.; on a large farm she then made cheese until 3 or 4 p.m., then milked the cows again, and made cheese again until late in the evening. Her wages varied from £2 10s. to £5 a year. Much of this work was terribly hard—"too great labour for any woman; it is painful to see," as one observer remarked in 1788. It is difficult to envisage and realize such a life, but it must have differed little from that of an overworked beast of burden. Yet it was the normal lot of vast numbers of the "lower orders" before the industrial revolution, and was accepted as the proper fulfilment of the divine dispensation correlating perspiration with the eating of food. And so when the agrarian and industrial revolutions came and brought the gang system in agriculture, and women and child labour in textile factories or the mines, the appalling conditions and terrible hours of labour, which may be studied in Miss Pinchbeck's book, and which seem to us so shocking, were accepted as right and proper by contemporaries.

THE MILLSTONE

The Bread of Britain. By A. H. HURST. (Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d.)

THIS is the cry of a grain merchant who sees his trade being crushed out "by the irresistible pressure of the upper millstone of concentrated selling and the nether millstone of concentrated buying" (page 31). It is a significant cry. For rationalization hurts the craftsman, the local shopkeeper, and the independent grain merchant; and this surely is the heart of rationalization. It strikes at the old semi-automatic organization of economic society, whereby cotton, coal, and wheat provided a scheme of economic life, chaotic in detail, but orderly in the mass. And the passing of this state of affairs hurts peculiarly the great world trader whose fiscal policy was correspondingly unplanned. Pre-war Britain took what came her way, earning financial and shipping profits in the process.

But this cannot endure, because the new producing nations, with the raw materials, the continental opportunities, and the comparative absence of taxation burdens will not endure it. What then is to be the answer of Britain? There are three possible answers. One is to denounce the new way and sigh for the old: this is futile. A second is to lose faith in voluntary enterprise and huddle behind the State: this is unworthy. The third and best way is to organize for action on the basis of consumption. This is where Mr. Hurst's tract fails. After attacking (and it must be said, ignorantly attacking) producers' organizations overseas, Mr. Hurst goes on to denounce the milling industry and the C.W.S. for combining and integrating, in other words for adopting the very methods which will put them on an equality with those from whom they buy. If all milling were in private hands, it might be reasonable to scent danger for the consumer here. But inasmuch as the largest miller of the country is the C.W.S., a federation of societies of working-men consumers, this fear is groundless. And Mr. Hurst, detesting co-operation in all its forms, delivers himself of the following amazing judgment: "If the thesis contained in this memorandum is correct, then the Co-operative Wholesale Society, by helping the concentration of wheat buying, eliminating the merchant, and purchasing from controlled supplies, is really adding tremendously to costs and largely offsetting its gains."

The answer is that his thesis is preposterously wrong.

C. R. FAY.

POETRY AND EXPERIENCE

Northern Light. By L. A. G. STRONG. Limited edition. (Gollancz. 16s.)

Collected Poems. By EDWARD THOMPSON. (Benn. 10s. 6d.)

The Poems of Charles Richard Cammell, 1911-1929. (Grant Richards. 10s. 6d.)

Poems. By KATHERINE MANSFIELD. (Constable. 6s.)

A Bravery of Earth. By RICHARD EBERHART. (Cape. 5s.)

L. A. G. STRONG discovers the anatomy of poetry among the highlands and the lakes of Scotland. In "Northern Light" he has done far more than turn experience to poetic account. The shape of the poem he has seen within the experience as the statue is seen within the rough-hewn stone. All irrelevancies are then chipped away. Careful workmanship has gone into the making of these poems. With their austere integrity and their humour they go beyond self-expression into an interpretation of earth through self. "Northern Light" ought to be taken into account and enjoyed by many more people than the number to which this edition is limited.

Edward Thompson's poems, now collected, show a much greater variety than the few fine narrowly-chosen experiences contained in "Northern Light." Mr. Thompson possesses a courageous sensibility, and his poetry, whether pictorial, narrative or mystical, is at its best where the experience, which comes from without, most dominates him. It is the quality of his experience that is of first importance, and the value of his expression depends entirely upon it. Mr. Thompson is always to be praised for the things he has individually known, and it is this inspiration of things known which will endear to his readers such poems as "Aujeh Meadows," "Twelfth Night," and "Evening Voluntary." His poetry is a commentary upon life, and it is most interesting where the stimulus of the life on which it comments is greatest. His earlier imaginative pieces are not so good as later realities, such as India and Mesopotamia. A short narrative poem, like "The Wolves" or "Water-Finders," is worth any amount of "Pheidippides." Over ten years, however, lie between these compositions, and much of the charm of a collected edition is the opportunity it gives of watching a gradual progression. It is not time now for a final appraisal of Mr. Thompson's work, and the sufficient purpose of this collected edition is to find him new acquaintances and to give those old ones a wider range for their enjoyment.

Mr. Thompson tells us that he would not write if he found himself with "nothing more interesting" than his own feelings, but Mr. Cammell will have it that "the fountain whence the verses flow is the poet's heart." The poet's difficulty is to borrow a conduit-pipe into which to guide the overflow. The first was love. "The Scented Chamber" is an epithalamium with the charming frankness of Spenser, but there is no music. The war diverted the stream, and the art of Dryden and Pope was needed to dam the flood. From his apprenticeship to these in "Casus Belli" Mr. Cammell derived some skill at satire, and this he put to use in the causes of pacifism, anti-vivisection and art. Finally, the river debouches into the placid waters of translation from the French, German, and Italian poets.

Far more refreshing are the unpremeditated poems of Katherine Mansfield with their insistence on imaginative experience. Her poetry is here collected in a new edition, including two poems which did not appear in the earlier edition. The form of her poems is dictated entirely by the mood which is expressed. Her method is to endow concrete and familiar things with the atmosphere created by her emotion. Her language is the familiar language of prose, enhanced by a breathless music. We are told in the Introduction that "perhaps her poetry is not quite poetry as her prose is not quite prose." She has detached her poetry from the tradition of poetry by the force of her personality, but her personal emotion is so completely and itself detachedly expressed that in this book, prose or poetry no matter, we have something more than personality.

"A Bravery of Earth," by Richard Eberhart, is a modern "Prelude." It does not have the biographical framework that Wordsworth gives to his poem, but both poets have wished to work out their emotional and intellectual life. Both begin with a sensory approach to nature,

but whereas Wordsworth could embrace the large objective realization of nature, this is denied to a mind "impaled on mechanistic truth." By more arduous and individual ways and without the strong staff of philosophy that Wordsworth had, "A Bravery of Earth" finally achieves this personal objectivity, and then only does the poem emerge into an account of exterior doings—a voyage in a tramp-steamer on the South Seas, filled with character and colour. The poem is written in short lines of no regular metre beyond a quadruple rhythm. There are here lyric possibilities that are beautifully put to advantage, but the drawback to a short line in a long poem is the difficulty, when in a lower key, of making the verse paragraph. There is a temptation to pile one line upon another. This, however, interferes very little with the simplicity of the poem's movement.

JAMES THORNTON.

THE PROPER STUDY

Human History. By G. ELLIOT SMITH. (Cape. 21s.)

From Savagery to Commerce. By T. S. FOSTER. (Cape. 12s. 6d.)

Possession, Demoniical and Other, among Primitive Races, in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and Modern Times. By T. K. OESTERREICH. (Kegan Paul. 21s.)

HERE are studies of man from many points of view. Professor Elliot Smith essays to tell the story of mankind from the first ape-man to the dawn of modern civilization in Ionia; Mr. T. S. Foster treats of various savage peoples of our Empire and of the effect which contact with our civilization has had upon them; and incidentally of the cultures of Ancient Egypt; and of the barbarian civilizations of the New World which preceded or fell before the Spanish invasion; and Professor Oesterreich, in a brilliant psychological survey of the whole problem of dual personality, writes learnedly of "possession" in relation to the superstitions of mankind.

Needless to say, Egypt bulks largely in Professor Elliot Smith's story of man from ape to Achæan, nor is one surprised to discover that for all the piled centuries that Mr. Woolley has uncovered at Ur, the Professor is still convinced it was Egypt that discovered and taught the world all the prime essentials of civilization. The possibility of parallelism in human invention is scouted, though it is difficult to see why hunting-man's acute necessity should not have been the mother of agriculture and irrigation in more places than one. A priori, Egypt fulfils all the conditions of a cradle; but what if man's wit was brighter or man's need greater or earlier in Mesopotamia or the Punjab? Diffusion as a working hypothesis of human progress is a boon to anthropology; as a dogma it promises to become a nuisance. Happily Professor Elliot Smith is here more concerned with man the food-gatherer than with man chained to the land and organized into societies. After reviewing such evidence of the life of primitive man as archaeology affords, which is not much, and considering the nature of primitive man as it may be discovered in peoples still living to-day in the food-gathering stage of culture, he comes to the conclusion that, stripped of the economic and sentimental rivalries which civilization has created and inspired, man is a peaceable, kindly, friendly creature, and not the savage warrior he is supposed to be.

On the whole one feels that the Professor makes out a good case for a Golden Age, even though his assumption that the Punans of Borneo, Veddahs of Ceylon, Bushmen of South Africa, and Eskimo of the Arctic, are really representative of Palæolithic man, is, of course, but an hypothesis. But if we ascribe to civilization the invention of organized war, must we also ascribe to it the loathly superstitions which have tortured men's minds, and forced them to distrust and fear and hate each other? The psycho-analyst, with his horrid vision of the Primal Horde, and his ascription to primitive man of nasty inherited phobias and complexes, no doubt exaggerates; still one feels that the Australian black-fellow is perhaps a fairer representative of early man than are the amiable Punan and Eskimo, and that even the most warlike civilization of the old world did in some sort free

man's mind, though it was to remain in bondage till Homer sang, and Hipponax blasphemed, and the Greek idea was born.

Mr. Foster would probably endorse Professor Elliot Smith's theory of a Golden Age; but the Professor would be simply appalled by Mr. Foster's reckless theories of the diffusion of culture, and of the beginnings of Egyptian civilization. However, it is in the papers dealing with such peoples as the Tasmanians, Andamanese, and Maori in contact with our civilization, that the real value of the book rests. Particularly interesting, in relation to Professor Elliot Smith's Golden Age, is the paper on the Tasmanians, who before the arrival of Europeans divided their island amicably and lived in peace. Owing to European interference with their economic entente, the unhappy aborigines turned their arms against each other, and succumbed to mutual destruction no less than to the blessings of civilization. The Andamanese who, nearly exterminated by imported measles and other diseases, have resisted civilization, are now to be left in peace to work their own salvation. The Maori, having survived the devastating impact, are beginning to thrive in the civilization which has been so variously thrust upon them.

The major part of Professor Oesterreich's treatise on "possession" is devoted to the pathology of the states of mind which present the phenomenon of dual personality. The subject, however, involves a close scrutiny of demoniacal possession as recorded during the Middle Ages, in the Bible and Jewish religious literature generally, in the folk-lore of the modern and ancient world, and among primitive or illiterate people to-day. With regard to this form of possession the Professor holds that it is the result of auto-suggestion, and is the unconscious dramatization of a too realistic day-dream, or day-mare. That demoniacal possession is of this nature is demonstrated by the fact that in sceptical ages, and among scientifically educated people, the condition is rare and contagion negligible. Classical scholars will be interested in Professor Oesterreich's discussion of the Delphic Oracle, and in his eulogy of the Achæan and Classic Greek, in whose creeds and rituals he can discover no trace of demoniacal possession. Professor Elliot Smith declares that the Aryan made no great contribution to the world's material culture. That is true. But he brought with him an incomparable language, and, seemingly, a healthy mind in a healthy body.

NOTES ON NOVELS

James Huneker appears to have been considered an original and discerning critic. It is difficult to determine whether his only work of fiction, "Painted Veils" (Laurie, 7s. 6d.), is a novel in the form of philosophy and criticism, or philosophy and criticism in the form of a novel; probably the latter; for there is little action, and the characterization is expressed almost entirely by attitudes to philosophy, sex, and the arts. The novel embodies, however, a lively impression of Bohemian and artistic New York towards the end of the last century.

"A Certain Jesus," by Iwan Naschiwin (Gollancz, 10s. 6d.), is a detailed account of the life of Christ from the time when He began teaching. It is impossible to put much faith in this (or in any modern) interpretation of the psychology and atmosphere of the first century, but the book may be recommended as giving a reasonably good idea of the historical facts and details, the clash of races, religions, and parties, the geographical and domestic background, and so on. Mr. Emile Burns's translation reads well.

A Russian novel of a totally different kind is "Bruski," by F. Panferov, translated by Z. Mitzov and J. Tabrisky (Martin Laurence, 7s. 6d.), a study of peasant life under the Republic. Besides being valuable, especially at the present time, as what must be an authentic picture of a Soviet village, the novel is a work of art. It is distinguished by a certain simplicity and courage without sentimentality or heroics in the face of terrible realities (for example, the bandit Karasyuk's attack on the village). There is no mistaking the nature of the similes: "Night hung over Shirokoye like a shaggy black cap. The mud squelched underfoot with the noise of a dog hungrily chewing meat."

Australian critics seem to have discovered an important

and representative writer in Mr. Brent of Bin Bin, whose "Ten Creeks Run" (Blackwood, 7s. 6d.) is of a semi-historical nature, dealing with the "squatocracy." But in execution, if not in purpose, Mr. Brent is inferior as a writer to his countrywoman, Miss Katharine Susannah Prichard, and it is doubtful whether his rough and ready work, obscured by the technicalities of horseflesh, will appeal to English readers. But there are signs (the stereoscope theme in Chapter II.) which indicate that Mr. Brent lacks neither artistic consciousness nor skill.

Of two "historical" novels, Mr. Walpole's "Rogue Herries" (Macmillan, 10s. 6d.) is a long, copious story of the '45, abounding in those particular characters, relationships, sensations, incidents, atmospheres, and colours familiar to everyone as the hall-marks of his talent; while in "The Rocklitz," by George Preedy (The Bodley Head, 7s. 6d.), another Magdalena Sibylla is sacrificed to another reigning prince.

"Drift," by James Hanley (Partridge, 7s. 6d.), is an unusually interesting novel about the poverty-stricken Irish Catholics in Liverpool. As soon as Mr. Hanley becomes absorbed in his frustrated types, he abandons the artificially ironic manner in which he opens his story of incessant vacillation between desire (love, freedom of thought) and duty (family and religious loyalty). There is at least one really poignant scene, the quarrel which results in the mother's death. Mr. Hanley conveys the spirit of solidarity that characterizes Catholics in a predominantly Protestant community, and their consciously artistic pride in their religion.

There is some good work in "The Sting of the Whip," by C. C. and E. M. Mott (Allen & Unwin, 7s. 6d.); but the authors do not seem to have succeeded in making us feel the emotions experienced by their people; so that we have only their word for John's humiliation and desire for revenge, and we may understand but we do not feel why Eunice should have committed suicide. The action passes over some fifty years on a farm in a Welsh valley; the place and the lapse of time are both effectively done.

"The Charioteer," by John Presland (Noel Douglas, 7s. 6d.), is a shapely, competent novel about two sisters, both talented musicians, who are rivals in love and art. Mr. Presland may avoid sentimentality with Mohun, victim of an hereditary craving for strong drink, but not melodrama with Stanislas, or preposterousness in the final scene, where Fredegonde snaps Shirley's wrist.

If anyone would like to recall what was written in purely domestic fiction during the war, he may read a reissue of Miss E. M. Delafield's "Zella Sees Herself" (Macmillan, 3s. 6d.), first published in 1917. The war itself and sex as sex are entirely absent.

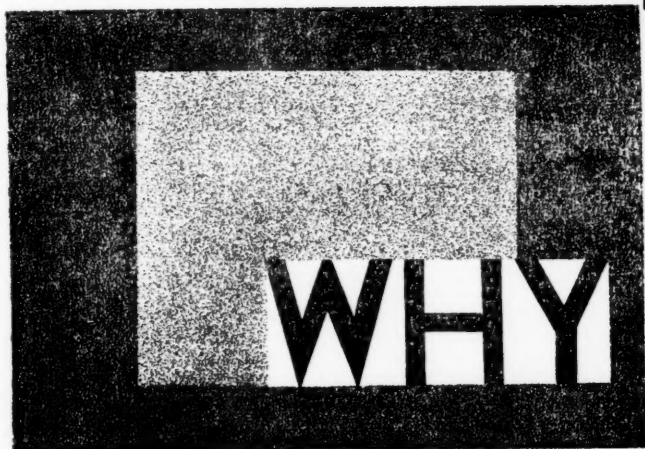
HERBERT KAHAN.

A LITERARY POCKET-BOOK

By way of encouraging the others Mr. Michael Sadleir begins Messrs. Constable's series, "Bibliographia," with "The Evolution of Publishers' Binding Styles, 1770-1900" (20s.). He has done it with the authority of a collector, the inner knowledge of a publisher, and the affection of an essayist. There are those who will always refuse to hear the voice of bibliographical charmers, but Mr. Sadleir is rather the historian of a period as it expressed its tastes and necessities in matters of book-production; there is a romance in the rise and refinement of cloth coverings. For example, Mr. Sadleir traces the fashion for flowered cloths in part to the home of Southey, where "about 1830 more than twelve hundred volumes were, by the loving care of his womenfolk, hand-covered over the original boards with various printed fabrics." The technical discriminations that Mr. Sadleir has made need not be entered into here; they will be esteemed by all who enjoy the former delicacies of publishers' binding styles.

The special number of the TIMES for February 18th will be remembered as one of the most remarkable supplements ever achieved by a newspaper; it is now reprinted as a quarto at 7s. 6d.—"India," a volume of "abundant and recent information" by a great company of authorities, and copiously illustrated in colour and otherwise.

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| UNION OF S. AFRICA | | |
| FOREIGN | | |
| SOUTH AMERICA | 79,000,000 | £64,594,000 |
| EMPIRE | | |
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belief to exultant rationalism, the only link between them being a conviction expressed or tacit that religion matters enormously. Taking them haphazard, we have Mr. Sidney Dark's summary of "The Lambeth Conferences" (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 6s.), in which he deals with their work from the beginning, and with the Churchmen who have taken part in them, as an introduction to the forthcoming conference in July. Then we have "The Gospel of St. John," by Edward Mears (Murray, 7s. 6d.), in which the author critically analyzes the Gospel, of which he gives a literal translation, and comes to the conclusion that it was written by a personal disciple of Christ, and that the discourses were woven by him round actual sayings of Christ, as the Socratic Dialogues were woven by Plato round sayings of Socrates. Next comes a curious little study: "Dickens and Religion," by W. Kent (Watts, 2s.), in which the author, having exposed the novelist's latitudinarianism and exclusive devotion to the ethical side of religion, claims him as a Rationalist. In "Pulpits and Personalities," by The Janitor (Duckworth, 5s.), we have descriptions, by a journalist who knows his business, of some of our leading London churches and their incumbents. In "The Life of Our Lord" (Bell, 3s. 6d.), Mr. Reginald Pensonby gives us a story compiled from the four Gospels, eliminating repetition and confining it strictly to the actual words of the Revised Version. Lastly, we have a couple of books, "Man's Social Destiny in the Light of Science," by Charles A. Ellwood (Student Christian Movement Press, 5s.), and "Beyond Agnosticism," by Bernard Iddings Bell (Allen & Unwin, 5s.), in which two American professors maintain that without religious inspiration civilization is dead and valueless.

The holiday tourist, whether he indulges his love of travel at home or abroad, goes afoot or by rail or car, is being well catered for in the matter of guide-books, which in these days are generally well and intimately written, and at the same time practical in their construction. "The Roads of Spain," by Charles L. Freeston (Humphrey Toulmin, 10s. 6d.), has all these merits with an additional one, surprise. Those who remember the old Spanish roads, and then read Mr. Freeston's descriptions and see his photographs of the wonderful motor roads that have been created by the Spanish Government at a cost of six hundred million pesetas, will understand that his acclamation of Spain as a motorist's paradise is no exaggeration. Another excellent guide-book recently published is "A Wayfarer in Bavaria," by Suzanne St. Barbe Baker (Methuen, 7s. 6d.), an intimate study of the country and the people that can but enhance the enjoyment of every visitor who carries it with him. To turn to our own country, Mr. J. H. Wade repeats in "Rambles in Devon" (Methuen, 7s. 6d.) his previous successes in Cornwall and Somerset. Mr. Wade travels afoot, and is a most agreeable companion. The Medici Society's latest addition to their exquisitely printed "Picture Guides" is "Switzerland: Western and Southern," by Paul Guiton (7s. 6d.). The route taken is from Neuchâtel to Geneva, and thence in a line due west through Locarno to Ticino. All these books are well and fully illustrated, and each contains a map.

For the traveller in Germany, actual or imagined, Mr. Malcolm Letts's "Wayfarer on the Rhine" (Methuen, 7s. 6d.) is promising; architecture, landscape, history, legend, practical direction are all there. Mr. Letts is an old inhabitant, so to speak; Mr. Gerald Bullett, in his "Germany" (Black, 7s. 6d.), is more of the innocent abroad, and gives an amusing, ingenious account of the traveller's ups and downs. His joking does not prevent him from incidental expressions of beauty. The book has the additional merits of containing a brilliant chapter on "German Tourism and Mountaineering" by Mr. Anthony Bertram, and a series of coloured pictures by E. T. and E. Harrison Compton.

A word of some notable new editions. Mr. R. A. Scott-James prefixes to his "Making of Literature" (Secker, 7s. 6d.) some comments on the criticisms of the first edition. Professor Edward Jenks has brought up to date his "Government of the British Empire" (Murray, 9s.). The second edition of Mr. J. A. Williamson's "Short History of British Expansion" (Macmillan, 30s.) is extended to two volumes; the author has rewritten the survey after the year 1783, which "now contains seventeen chapters in place of the former eight." Mr. Maurice Baring's "Puppet Show of Memory" appears in the Crown Library.

AUCTION BRIDGE

By CALIBAN.

FIVE HUNDRED CONSECUTIVE BRIDGE HANDS ANALYZED (IV)

IT is up to me now, I think, to resume my analysis of Trinculo's five hundred consecutive hands. In my first three articles, it will be remembered, I discussed the cards that he held; and showed how closely his holdings approximated to his *à priori* expectation. I showed also that there was a fairly high correlation between the cards held in each series of fifty hands and the results attained in play.

I should like now to consider some factors in our problem in regard to which *à priori* deduction is not possible. I refer to the distribution of the hands, as played, among the various suit (and No-Trump) calls; and the degree of success attained in each. These data throw a good deal of light on the principles of successful bidding, and, small as Trinculo's sample is, deductions can be drawn from them which are of the greatest practical importance.

TABLE 4

ANALYSIS OF TRUMP CALLS AT WHICH CONTRACT WAS SECURED

| Series. | Calls made at | | | | | Total. |
|-------------|---------------|-----|-----|----|----|--------|
| | No Trump. | ♠ | ♥ | ♦ | ♣ | |
| IA . . . | 16 | 16 | 10 | 4 | 4 | 50 |
| IB . . . | 19 | 17 | 10 | 3 | 1 | 50 |
| IIA . . . | 17 | 12 | 15 | 3 | 2 | 49 * |
| IIB . . . | 16 | 11 | 14 | 4 | 5 | 50 |
| IIIA . . . | 16 | 14 | 14 | 3 | 3 | 50 |
| IIIB . . . | 11 | 17 | 17 | 2 | 3 | 50 |
| IVA . . . | 17 | 12 | 13 | 8 | — | 50 |
| IVB . . . | 14 | 19 | 10 | 2 | 4 | 49 * |
| VA . . . | 23 | 10 | 11 | 5 | 1 | 50 |
| VB . . . | 18 | 15 | 10 | 4 | 3 | 50 |
| Total . . . | 167 | 143 | 124 | 38 | 26 | 498 |

* One hand thrown in.

This is, I think, an interesting table. It shows that at the Setebos Club (which is, I suppose, pretty typical) one hand in three is played in No-Trumps, rather more than half the hands in a major suit, and barely one hand in eight in a minor suit. It shows also (what, of course, one would expect to see) that Spades are more powerful—though not much more powerful—than Hearts; and Diamonds more powerful than Clubs.

I have just described Trinculo's results as "pretty typical"; but of this I am not altogether sure. For I find, on looking further into the data, that Trinculo himself played sixty-three out of the 167 No-Trump hands, i.e., more than twice as many as were played, on the average, by three others at the table. But this figure again calls for correction; we must take into account the total number of hands that Trinculo played. This (by a coincidence) was also 167—one hand in three. Trinculo therefore played 63-167, or 38 per cent. of his hands, at No-Trumps, where others at the table played 104-331 hands, or only 31½ per cent. We have here, then, a personal factor sufficiently distinctive to rank as an appreciable element in our results. Trinculo plays an abnormal proportion of his hands at No-Trumps, partly because he believes more strongly in the "defensive" No-Trump than do others at the table, and partly because, as he manipulates his cards well, he does not get "called out" by distrustful partners.

But even if allowance is made for this special factor (and how much allowance should be made it is difficult to say) the figures in Table 4, when further analyzed, have a distinct objective significance. I shall endeavour, next week, to show that this is so.

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FINANCIAL SECTION

THE WEEK IN THE CITY

THE POST-BUDGET OUTLOOK—AMUSEMENT SHARES—UNION CORPORATION

MR. SNOWDEN may be congratulating himself that the only flight from the pound which could be observed following on his Budget was the flight to Paris for the Easter holidays. Nevertheless, we believe that the higher direct taxation which he has imposed will have an increasingly adverse influence upon the investment markets. The flow of investment funds to New York will probably become larger as soon as the New York stock markets have had their overdue reaction. We do not suggest that investors will dream of selling their sound British industrial holdings, such as Imperial Tobacco, Shell, Babcock and Wilcox, Guest Keen and Nettlefold, Associated Portland Cement, Gramophone and Columbia Graphophone, Liebig's, Thomas Tilling, Turner and Newall, but funds which in private hands would normally find employment on the Stock Exchange will eventually find their way into public hands and be disbursed upon a multitude of social services. Nor can we imagine a boom in industrial shares merely because a Bankers' Industrial Development Company has been formed under the auspices of the Bank of England with the vaguest of good motives. The "rationalization" of depressed British industries cannot be pushed forward by the Bank of England without the co-operation of the directors of the companies which have to rationalize, and of the joint-stock banks which are holding the "frozen credits." The Bank of England may bring pressure to bear on the former, but can it persuade, say, Mr. McKenna to cut losses for the Midland Bank?

This is a fitting season to discuss amusement shares which have recently been among the most active on the New York Stock Exchange. There are still many investors who refuse to regard the film industry as respectable. So many American film magnates started their business life by pressing clothes in back-street shops—not so many years ago—that it is hard to realize that motion pictures are the fourth largest and one of the most stable of American industries. The average citizen in North America (and for that matter in Great Britain) goes to the "movies" or "talkies" whether he is prosperous or not. Statistics show that business depressions affect attendances at cinema theatres as little as cigarette smoking. There are approximately 22,600 cinema theatres in the United States, and the weekly average attendance is 115 million persons—not far short of the entire population of the country. By the grace of the "talkies" the average cinema in America did 30 per cent. more business in 1929 than in 1928. The capital invested in the American motion picture industry is estimated at \$2,600 million—production and distribution (renting) accounting for one-third, and the theatres for two-thirds. It can no longer be said that the industry is not respectable. The gramophone companies have begun to take an interest in it. Moreover, the "talkies" have virtually made the great electrical manufacturing companies, which control the sound patents, trustees for its stability.

These remarks apply only to the American industry. In Great Britain film production is still a gamble, and it is only the cinema theatres which can offer reasonably safe investments. Even so we would not recommend any beyond Provincial Cinematograph Theatres 6 per cent. debentures—at 95 to yield £6 7s. per cent.—for a prior charge, and the 7½ per cent. participating preferred ordinary shares—at 19s. to yield £7 18s. per cent.—for an equity share investment. But in America there is the choice between four big groups—Paramount Famous Lasky, Warner Brothers, Fox Film Corporation, and Loew's Incorporated, the last two being interlocked. Paramount is the biggest producer, distributor, and exhibitor

of motion pictures in the world; it operates 975 theatres in the United States, and many others abroad. Moreover, it has a 50 per cent. interest in the Columbia Broadcasting Company. Warner Brothers, the "talkies" pioneer, controls the Stanley Company of America with 350 theatres. Fox Film Corporation, another pioneer in sound, holds through subsidiaries 450 theatres, and is allied with Fox Theatres Corporation, which owns about 600 theatres: it has also a large block of shares in Loew's Inc., which controls 200 vaudeville and cinema theatres as well as the great film-producing organization called Metro-Goldwyn Mayer. The control of a large number of theatres is important because the cost of an average full-length film—say, £30,000—can generally be recovered from the Company's own circuit. The "talkie" connections are also important. Sound is recorded both on the disc and on the film. Western Electric, which is controlled by the American Telephone and Telegraph, owns the Vitaphone (disc) and Movietone (film) systems, while the Radio Corporation of America controls the Photophone (film) system which was developed by General Electric Company engineers. Warner Brothers and Western Electric jointly own the Vitaphone Corporation. Mr. William Fox and Mr. W. R. Hearst are interested in Movietone. It is not generally known that the film producer pays the patentee a royalty of \$500 on every reel (1,000 feet) using one of these sound processes. Warner Brothers, through Vitaphone Corporation, receive part of the disc system royalties.

The profits of the American film industry are astounding. These were the net profit figures of the big four in 1929 — Paramount \$15,500,000, Warner Brothers \$17,271,805, Fox Film Corporation \$11,848,276, and Loew's \$11,756,900. The 1929 earnings and dividends per share, the present market prices and yields are shown in the following table:—

| | High 1929 | Present | Earned | 1929 Paid | Yields % on Earnings | Divs. |
|-------------|--------------|---------|---------|--------------|-------------------------|-------|
| Paramount | 74½ | 73 | \$6.34 | \$4.0 | 8.7 | 5.5 |
| Warner Bros | 64½ | 74 | \$6.28 | \$4.0 | 8.5 | 5.4 |
| Fox Film A | 105½ | 55 | \$12.87 | \$4.0* | 23.4 | 7.3 |

* Paid in scrip.

The trouble with the market in Fox Film has been Mr. William Fox, whose ideas of his own financial importance were, perhaps, coloured by his super-film productions. Mr. Fox bought a large interest in Loew's Incorporated and in Gaumont-British, which he was unable to finance because he imagined himself to be more important than his bankers. The trouble is now past. Mr. Fox has had to give up control, and the bankers (Halsey Stuart and Dillon Read) have appointed a new President in place of Mr. Fox, who receives the consolation of a salary of \$100,000 a year as chairman of an advisory committee. The refinancing plan of Fox Film involves the sale of 1,600,000 Fox Film "A" shares to the General Theatres Corporation at \$30 a share. Subject to the uncertain conditions of the New York stock market, we would conclude that Paramount common stock is the best investment of these amusement shares, that Warner Brothers is more speculative, and that Fox Film "A" is a gamble in an interesting condition.

For a high yield from an equity share of good standing we would draw attention to Union Corporation. Its report for 1929 shows profits slightly down, but dividends maintained at 44 per cent. Its South African gold interests are first class (Modder Deep, Geduld and East Geduld), its investment in San Francisco Mines of Mexico is paying well, its loss in British Enka has been written off, and its holding in the German gramophone company, Polyphonwerke, is promising. The 12s. 6d. shares at 8 11-16 cum dividend return a yield of about £7 12s. 6d. per cent.

